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ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA.

VOL. XXIII.

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA:

OR

Miscellaneous Tracts

RELATING TO ANTIQUITIES.

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

VOLUME XXIII.

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M.DCCCC.II.

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NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE :
ANDREW REID AND COMPANY, LIMITED, PRINTING COURT BUILDINGS,
AKENSIDE HILL.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
List of Plates	vi
Other Illustrations	vii
Contributions of Plates, etc.	viii
Errata et Corrigenda	viii
Annual Report for 1900	ix
Treasurer's Balance Sheet for 1900	xiv
Curators' Report for 1900	xiii
Gifts to Museum in 1900	xvii
Council and Officers for 1901	xviii
Honorary Members	xix
Ordinary Members	xx
Societies exchanging Publications	xxix

I.—Obituary Notice of Dennis Embleton, M.D., a Vice-President of the Society. By F. W. Dendy, V.P. 1

II.—Excavations at Chesters in September, 1900. By F. Haverfield, F.S.A. 9

III.—Tynemouth Priory to the Dissolution in 1539, with Notes of Tynemouth Castle. By Horatio A. Adamson, V.P. ... 22

IV.—On 'Low Side Windows.' By the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, Vicar of Witton-le-Wear 42

V.—Researches into the Origin of the name Ogle. By Sir Henry A. Ogle, Bart. 236

VI.—Local Muniments. By Richard Welford, V.P. 247

VII.—Note on the Excavations at Chesters, September, 1900. By F. Haverfield 268

VIII.—The Boutflowers of Apperley. By the Rev. D. S. Boutflower, Vicar of Monkwearmouth 269

Index 287

PLATES, ETC.

I.—Portrait of the late Dr. Embleton, V.P. ... ... facing page 1

II.—Ruins of Tynemouth Priory from the west, showing the stone screen ... ... „ 25

II*a*.—Interior of Chapel at east end of Choir of Tynemouth Priory Church ... ... „ 30

III.—'Low Side Window,' Crosby Garret Church, Westmorland „ 43

IV.—Light Pillar, Klosterneuberg ... ... „ 171

'LOW SIDE WINDOWS':—

V.—Barnard Castle and Easington Churches ... ... „ 206

VI.—Cockfield and Haughton-le-Skerne Churches ... ... „ 208

VII.—Jarrow Church ... ... „ 216

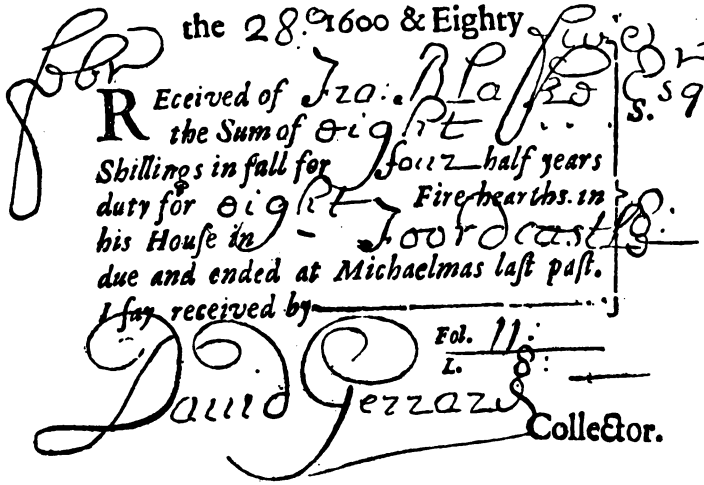
VIII.—Norton and Redmarshall Churches ... ... „ 220

IX.—Ryton and Old Seaham Churches ... ... „ 226

X.—Stanhope and Whitburn Churches ... ... „ 229

XI.—Trimdon Church ... ... „ 230

XII.—Winston Church ... ... „ 232



RECEIPT FOR HEARTH MONEY IN 1685 FOR FORD CASTLE.

OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE.
Barber Surgeons Arms	xxx
Plans of Camp at Chesters, etc.	9, 14, 15, 20
Plan of Camp at Birdoswald	10
Roman Altar inscribed DISCIPVLINAE AVGVSTI	21
Tynemouth Priory Church : East end from S.E.	28
Tynemouth Priory Church: Plan of Chapel at East end of Choir ...	30
Tynemouth Priory Church : the Ruins from the Castle Gateway before 1852	35
Tynemouth Priory Church : the Ruins from the S.E. before 1852 ...	39
'Low Side Windows':—	
Acaster Malbis, Yorkshire	51
Berkeley, Gloucestershire...	49
Dalton-le-Dale, county Durham	209
Durham St. Giles	211
Durham St. Margaret	
Etton, near Peterborough	60
Flintham, Notts	48
Jarrow, county Durham	58
Medomsley, county Durham	218
Melton Constable	65
Othery, Somersetshire	47
Pittington, county Durham	222
Raydon, Suffolk	45
Salford Priors, Warwickshire	44
Staindrop, county Durham	228
Wensley, Yorkshire	46
Wiggington, Oxfordshire	66
Winston, county Durham	233
York, St. Cuthbert, Peasholme Green	54
'High end' Window, Auckland St. Andrew's Church	206
Tomb in Abbey Church of Longpont, France	106
Hearse in Church of Villeneuve, near Nantes	128
Round Towers :—	
Ardmore, Waterford	155
Devenish, Fermanagh	155
Kilree, Kilkenny	156
St. Kevin's Kitchen, Glendalough	157
Window, Donoughmore, Meath	159

CONTRIBUTIONS OF PLATES, ETC.

Thanks are given to the following :—

Antiquary, the Editor of the, for loan of block on p. 65.

Curry, H. S., for plan of Chapel, p. 30, and drawing of east end of Tynemouth Priory, p. 28.

Fowler, C. Hodgson, of Durham, for drawings of Flintham and Etton 'low side windows,' pp. 48 and 60.

Hall, James, of Tynemouth, for loan of wood blocks of Tynemouth Priory, pp. 35 and 39.

Haverfield, F., for plans of Camps, pp. 9, 10, 14 and 15.

Hodgson, Mrs. E. H., of Newby Grange, for plan, etc., of Camp, p. 20.

Hodgson, The Rev. J. F., for the numerous beautiful drawings illustrating his 'low side window' paper, and for the blocks of Crosby Garret window (facing p. 43), Longfont tomb (p. 106), Villeneuve hearse (p. 128), and Klosterneuberg pillar (facing p. 171).

Ruddock, R., of Newcastle, for the fine photograph of the late Dr. Embleton, plate I.

Sussex Archaeological Society, for the loan of block, p. 66.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 61, eighth line from top, for 'But besides, the' etc. read 'But besides the' etc.

Page 70, eighth line from top, for '*inmemdorum*' read '*immundorum.*'

Page 70, tenth line from top, for 'euim' read 'enim.'

Page 71, seventh line from top, for 'lxxiv, *dorso*' read 'lxxiv, p. 224 *dorso.*'

Page 72, twelfth line from top, for 'lachymosum' read 'lachrymarum.'

Page 75, second line from top, for 'nobis cum' read 'nobiscum.'

Page 84, eighth line from top, for 'Loudres' read 'Londres.'

Page 85, fifteenth line from top, for 'remanant' read 'remaneant.'

Page 88, eighth line from bottom, for 'feuille sou' read 'feuilles ou.'

Page 89, sixth line from bottom, for 'procession' read 'possession.'

Page 92, fifth line from top, for 'castraejicerunt' read 'castra ejicerunt.'

Page 92, second line from bottom, for 'dicentis. Ego,' etc. read 'dicentis, Ego,' etc.

Page 93, sixth line from top, for 'cirei' read 'cerei.'

Page 93, nineteenth line from top, for 'sere' read 'sese.'

Page 93, fifteenth line from bottom, for 'quem ad modum' read 'quemadmodum.'

Page 95, first line of note, for 'Mr. Perret' read 'M. Perret.'

Page 103, third line from bottom, for 'abbey' read 'abbacy.'

Page 105, fifteenth line from bottom, for 'display' read 'displays.'

Page 112, thirteenth line from top, for '*egesti*' read '*egisti.*'

Page 166, ninth line from top, for '"after that,"' read 'after that.'

REPORT

OF

The Society of Antiquaries

OF

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

ANNUAL MEETING, MDCCCCI.

Your Council presents its report under the shadow of the death of our late beloved sovereign, Queen Victoria, and in the midst of the demonstrations of loyalty exhibited in the proclamation of the accession of His Most Gracious Majesty, King Edward the Seventh.

The beginning of a new century may afford opportunity to recall the fact that our society, now entering upon its eighty-ninth year, has reached what may already be called a venerable age, for it is only eleven years short of being itself a centenarian.

At its foundation, on the 6th day of February, 1813, the purpose of its institution was declared to be :—'Inquiry into Antiquities in general, but especially into those of the North of England, and of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Durham in particular.' In pursuance of this object the Rev. John Hodgson, secretary of the society at that time, remarked :—'If any real gratification is to arise to us as individuals, or respectability is to attach to us as a body, they can only be effected by every member zealously contributing his portion of knowledge ; and each of us certainly has it in his power, by adding something to the common stock of information, to further the designs of the institution.' In how far that exhortation has been acted upon in the past might form an instructive topic for review, and if a retrospect of the past century shows that the design of the founders has been taken up from time to time by members whose eminent services have contributed to make the annals of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne worthy of their origin and intention, it will add to our responsibility as successors to such an inheritance and incite us to renewed effort in maintaining the efficiency of the institution committed to our care.

In looking back upon our past achievements we shall realize how great a field of enquiry remains unexplored notwithstanding the work already achieved. If much has been done, much more lies before us; for the scope of our investigations has widened vastly with the process of the years; and the specialization of pursuits has continually opened out fresh avenues for discovery. With such considerations we may confidently anticipate the prospect before us in the new period of time upon which we now enter.

During the past year two parts, forming volume xxii of *Archaeologia Aeliana*, have been published, containing papers on swords in the society's possession, by Mr. Parker Brewis; on a hitherto little known landing by the French on the coast of Northumberland, by Mr. W. W. Tomlinson; on the descent of the Town Fields of South Shields, by Mr. Philip E. Mather; and a very important paper on Jarrow, by the Rev. H. E. Savage. Coquetdale in its relation to the county militia forms the subject of a paper by Mr. D. D. Dixon; the rector of Edmundbyers records the history of his parish; and Mr. J. Crawford Hodgson, F.S.A., contributes some of the fruits of his research as editor of the new County History in the Proofs of Age produced at enquiries into heirships to estates in the fifteenth century. The volume also contains biographical articles on the late Mr. Sheriton Holmes, and the late Chancellor of Carlisle, respectively contributed by Mr. F. W. Dendy and Dr. Hodgkin. The ninth volume of the *Proceedings* has also been completed, and one or two additional instalments of the Elsdon Parish Registers have been printed.

26 new members have been elected and 354 are now enrolled; but your Council has to deplore losses sustained by deaths during the year. These include the names of Sheriton Holmes, Alex. Shannon Stevenson, and Dr. Dennis Embleton, all three vice-presidents of the society. Their genial presence at our meetings and their continuous interest in our pursuits are now deprivations which will long be felt. In the death of the worshipful Chancellor Ferguson a loss well nigh irreparable has been sustained. Works of varied character, historical and archaeological, have followed each other from his pen in prolific succession, whilst his character and presence at once animated and linked together the two northern societies of Cumberland and Newcastle.

Further losses in our membership include the names of the late Lord Armstrong, who welcomed our visits to his castles of Bamborough and Cartington, and who received our members so hospitably at Cragside; the late Mr. Joseph Cowen, whose interest in our proceedings never flagged, and of whom a happy recollection remains in the reception given to the society at Stella hall and the address to which we listened on that occasion. We have further to lament Mr. J. B. Clayton, the Rev. R. W. Dixon, and our genial friend and colleague the late Mr. Hugh Taylor. Nor can we pause even here, for by the death of General Pitt-Rivers, an honorary member of our society, the loss to archaeology is a national one.

Our monthly meetings in the castle have been continued throughout the year with unabated interest and on more than one occasion our noble president has occupied the chair. Our meeting on April 25th was opened in the castle and adjourned to the lecture room of the Literary and Philosophical Society, courteously granted for the occasion, where Mr. J. P. Gibson exhibited his series of views illustrating recent discoveries on the Roman Wall, accompanying them with a most interesting personal description of each scene. Our July meeting was held at 2 p.m. with a view to meet the convenience of country members, but the numbers present hardly justified the innovation. Our out-door meetings have been held at Harbottle, Mount Grace, and at Norton. At Harbottle the excursion was most genially and ably conducted by Mr. D. D. Dixon who not only acted as guide throughout but read most valuable papers descriptive of the places visited. These included the castle of Harbottle, Alwinton church, Hepple Woodhouses pele and Hepple. The second meeting included visits to Kirk Levington, Crathorne, and Mount Grace priory, where members were met by Sir Lowthian Bell, the owner, and the remains were described by Mr. William Brown, F.S.A., the former owner. At the third meeting Norton, Billingham and Greatham were visited under the guidance of the Rev. J. F. Hodgson and the Rev. G. W. Reynolds, whose valuable remarks will be found in our *Proceedings*.

The important question of continued excavations on the line of the Roman Wall has occupied the attention of your council, and in

order to ensure efficiency in future operations the excavation committee has been re-constituted and a consideration of further investigations has been remitted to their special oversight.

Cuttings made privately within the station of *Cilurnum*, across the axis formed by the junction of the line of the Wall with the walls of the camp, appear to reveal the existence of an earlier fosse.

Since our last annual report Mr. Robert Coltman Clephan, F.S.A., one of our colleagues, has published an important treatise on *The Defensive Armour and the Weapons and Engines of War of Medieval Times and of the Renaissance.* We have been indebted to Mr. Clephan for directing special attention to this important subject of research and to its examples in the collection in possession of the society. In the present volume the lucid exposition in the text and the abundant illustrations with which it is accompanied contribute to a work on the accomplishment of which Mr. Clephan is to be heartily congratulated.

During the year 1901 our district will be visited by the British Archaeological Association, when its members will be received by his Worship the Mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The event will be anticipated with pleasure by our members and it is hoped that by it, and by the participation and presence of distinguished archaeologists, a renewed impulse may be given to the study of antiquity in general and to the elucidation of objects presented so abundantly in our own district in particular.

Your council's record would be incomplete without an expression of the regret with which they have heard of the lamented death of the bishop of London. Although not latterly connected with our society, his reputation as a historian of itself claims our regard; and his treatise on the tenures of the Northumberland Border brings home to us researches of the utmost value. To most of us, however, he will continue to be remembered by his long residence in Northumberland when, as the Rev. Mandell Creighton, he held the living of Embleton during a period of ten years, from 1874 to 1884. By his birth in the adjacent county of Cumberland, his education at the Durham Grammar School, and his long attachment to our own Northumberland Border we may well claim him as a conspicuous example of a north countryman.

The following is the

TREASURER'S REPORT, WITH BALANCE SHEET.

The number of members is now 354, comprising 349 ordinary and 5 life members. During the year 16 members have resigned, and we have lost 9 by death. The number of new members elected during the year is 26, including one life member. The new life member is the Trinity College Library, Dublin, and the composition of twelve guineas paid by it has been paid into the Post Office Savings Bank to the credit of the capital account, in accordance with the Council's order of the year 1890 to that effect.

The total revenue for the year is £541 2s. 3d. (including the twelve guineas received from the Trinity College Library, Dublin), and the expenditure has been £503 8s. 10d. (adding the debit balance of £2 5s. 4d. brought forward from last year), leaving a balance in hand of £37 13s. 5d. In this connexion it is only right to point out that the printers' account for the printing of the 55th part of the *Archaeologia Aeliana* was not received in time to be passed at the November meeting of the Council, otherwise the balance would have been reduced by about £33 0s. 0d.

The amounts paid for printing the *Archaeologia Aeliana* and the *Proceedings* have been considerably less than last year:—viz., for the former £45 7s. 3d., as against £141 14s. 6d., and for the latter, £49 2s. 0d., as against £75 7s. 6d. But there has been an exceptionally heavy outlay for the printing of *Parish Registers*, viz., £65 11s. 9d.

The illustrations have cost £7 7s. 3d. more than last year.

The Castle receipts show a falling off to the extent of £4 11s. 1d., while those of the Black Gate are practically the same as last year. The increase in the expenditure on the Castle is accounted for by the purchase of three new bookcases, which cost £33 0s. 0d.; while the extra outlay on the Black Gate arose from the necessity of putting the drains in proper order, which has cost the Society £10 16s. 11d.

The item of sundries shows a considerable reduction this year, being £76 6s. 10d., as against £95 5s. 5d. for 1899. A detailed statement is attached to the balance-sheet.

R. S. Nisbet, hon. treasurer.

R. S. Nisbet, treasurer, in account with the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1900.

		Receipts. £ s. d.	Expenditure. £ s. d.
Balance 1st Januury, 1900			2 5 4
Members' Subscriptions		382 4 0	
Books		17 15 3	20 8 4
Castle		115 12 0	105 4 0
Black Gate		25 11 0	41 19 0
PRINTING :—			
Archaeologia Aeliana		...	45 7 3
Proceedings		...	49 2 0
Parish Registers		...	65 11 9
Illustrations		...	35 7 7
Museum		...	10 5 9
Sundries		...	75 5 10
Secretary, for Clerical Assistance...		...	40 0 0
Amount invested in Post Office Savings Bank		...	12 12 0
Balance in Bank	£34 2 6		
Do. Treasurer's hands...	3 10 11		
			37 13 5
		£541 2 3	£541 2 3

Investments.

	£ s. d.
2¾ per cent. Consuls	42 18 5
POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK—	
As at 31st December, 1899 ... ... £23 11 0	
ADD—Deposit this year... ... ... £12 12 0	
Interest „ „ 1 15 8 14 7 8	
	37 18 8
	£80 17 1

Examined with Vouchers and found correct,

JOHN M. WINTER,
Chartered Accountant.

18th January, 1901.

Details of Expenditure.

CASTLE—	£ s. d.	BLACK GATE—	£ s. d.
Salaries	65 0 0	Salaries	21 12 0
Insurance	0 7 6	Insurance	2 15 0
Carried forward	65 7 6	Carried forward	24 7 0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	65	7	6
Rent	0	2	6
Water rate	0	6	0
Gas	0	2	7
Repairs	3	1	4
Bookcases	33	0	0
Sundries: brushes, firewood, candles. &c. ...	0	12	1
Coal	1	1	6
Income Tax	1	10	6
	£105	4	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	24	7	0
Rent	1	0	0
Water Rate	1	0	0
Gas	2	7	7
Repairs	10	16	11
Income Tax	1	5	0
Coals	1	2	6
	£41	19	0

BOOKS BOUGHT, ETC.—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions to Societies—						
Parish Register Society	1	1	0			
Harleian Society	1	1	0			
Surtees Society	1	1	0			
National Trust Society	1	1	0			
				4	4	0
Terry's *Campaigns of Alexander Leslie*				0	13	1
County History of Northumberland, vol. 5				1	6	0
Calverley's *Early Sculptured Crosses in the Diocese of Carlisle*				1	1	0
Gilbank's *Cistercian Abbey* (Holme Cultrum)				0	5	0
Lang's *Scotland*				0	15	0
Reliquary and *Illustrated Archaeologist*				0	10	0
Antiquary and *Notes and Queries*				1	0	4
Clephan's *Medieval Armour*, &c.				0	7	6
Feudal Aids...				0	15	0
Calendar of State Papers—*Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, vol. iii.				0	15	0
Year Book of Learned Societies				0	7	6
Wilson's *Ancient Sculptured Crosses*				0	10	0
Asher & Co. for *Transactions* of Imperial German Archaeological Institute				1	10	6
Holmes's *Town Walls of Newcastle* (60 copies)...				2	0	0
Elworthy's *Evil Eye* and *Horns of Honour*				1	8	0
Phillips's *Token Money of Bank of England*				0	2	6
Murray's *Dictionary* (S. 3, part 3)				0	10	6
English Dialect Dictionary, parts 9 and 10				1	1	0
German Roman Wall (parts 11 and 12)				0	7	8
J. C. Wilson for bookbinding				0	18	9
				£20	8	4

SUNDRIES—	£	s.	d.
Debit Balance from 1899...	2	5	4
A. Reid & Co., Ltd., for sundries	5	12	6
G. Nicholson, for general printing	32	15	6
Kilgour & Liddell, repairing chair	0	9	0
J. A. Dotchin & Co., brushes	0	9	9
Hy. Watson & Son, plumbing work for conversazione ...	6	11	4
Postage, and carriage of parcels...	8	2	5
Cheque book	0	5	0
Railway carriage on Cheese-Press	0	16	8
Index to vol. xxii. *Archaeologia Aeliana*	3	3	0
Fire insurance premium on 'Brooks Collection'	1	15	0
Secretary's out of pocket expenses	11	10	4
Treasurer's do. do.	1	10	0
	75	5	10

The following is the

CURATORS' REPORT

for the year 1900 :—

'The donations to the Museum have been five in number, received from four contributors, and particulars of the objects presented are given below.

The public interest in the Old Castle and in the Society's collection of antiquities has been continuous, and the visitors have included numerous members of the Church Congress and of the Congregational Union, whose assemblies were lately held in Newcastle. Other societies, including the Northern Architectural Association, and the Throckley Co-operative Reading Society, visited the Castle and Black Gate by special arrangement, and were conducted by your curators.

The popular Guide Book, published by the Society, has now been sold out. As many objects in our Museum have been recently rearranged, it will be necessary to rewrite the brochure should the publication of a new edition be decided on by the society.

Your curators have to acknowledge their indebtedness to the unremitting services rendered them by Mr. John Gibson, custodian of the Castle, whose life-long and invaluable co-operation in the work of the society cannot be too highly appreciated.'

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM.

1900.

Feb. 28. From Mr. D. D. DIXON, Rothbury :—(1) A pair of hand wool-carders, called 'floughters,' used in Upper Coquetdale early in the nineteenth century. (2) A shepherd's staff with iron crook, used by flockmasters in the Vale of Whittingham, and dating between the years 1810 and 1820 (*Proceedings*, vol. ix. p. 205).

May 20. From Mr. T. GLOVER :—A smoke-jack for roasting meat, taken from the chimney of an old house in Wellington Street, South Shields. In this contrivance the ascending current of air in the flue acted upon a circular fan and gave the rotary motion for turning the spit, which worked by a pulley and chain (*Proceedings*, vol. ix. p. 226).

July 25. From Mr. C. CARVER, 4 Prince Consort Road, Gateshead:—A heavy hunting rifle of German make, *circa* 1820 or 1830 (*Proceedings*, vol. ix. p. 262.)

" " From Mr. FOGGIN, Main Street, Corbridge:—A Roman bas relief on a fragmentary slab, measuring fourteen and a half by twelve inches, with a sculptured figure of Mercury wearing the *petasus* and carrying the *bursa* in his right hand and the *caduceus* on his left arm. The stone was found in excavating for a drain in the road between Halton Castle and the neighbouring colliery in the month of July (*Proceedings*, vol. ix. p. 263.) See illustration below.

FIGURE OF MERCURY FROM NEAR HALTON CASTLE.

THE COUNCIL AND OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR MDCCCCI.

Patron and President.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Vice-Presidents.

HORATIO ALFRED ADAMSON.
CADWALLADER JOHN BATES.
SIR WILLIAM CROSSMAN, K.C.M.G., F.S.A.
ROBERT RICHARDSON DEES.
JOHN VESSEY GREGORY.
THE REV. WILLIAM GREENWELL, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.
THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., F.S.A., &c.
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ROBERT SINCLAIR NISBET.

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ROBERT BLAIR.

Librarian.

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REV. HENRY EDWIN SAVAGE.
WILLIAM WEAVER TOMLINSON.
WALTER SHEWELL CORDER.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE ON THE 1ST MARCH, 1901.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Date of Election.	
1855 Jan. 3	J. J. Howard, LL.D., F.S.A., Mayfield, Orchard Road, Blackheath, Kent.
1883 June 27	Professor Mommsen, Marchstrasse 8, Charlottenburg bei Berlin.
1883 June 27	Dr. Hans Hildebrand, Royal Antiquary of Sweden, Stockholm.
1883 June 27	Ernest Chantre, Lyons.
1886 June 30	Ellen King Ware (Mrs.), The Abbey, Carlisle.
1886 June 30	Gerrit Assis Hulsebos, Lit. Hum. Doct., &c., Utrecht, Holland.
1886 June 30	Professor Edwin Charles Clark, LL.D., F.S.A., &c., Cambridge.
1886 June 30	David Mackinlay, 6 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow.
1892 Jan. 27	Sir John Evans, K.C.B., D.C.L., &c., &c., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.
1892 May 25	Professor Karl Zangemeister, Heidelberg.
1896 Oct. 28	Professor Ad. de Ceuleneer, Rue de la Confrèrie 5, Ghent, Belgium.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

The signs * indicates that the member has compounded for his subscription, and † that the member is one of the Council.

Date of Election	
1885 Mar. 25	Adams, William Edwin, 32 Holly Avenue, Newcastle.
1883 Aug. 29	†Adamson, Rev. Cuthbert Edward, Westoe, South Shields.
1873 July	†Adamson, Horatio Alfred, 29 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1892 Aug. 31	†Adamson, Lawrence William, LL.D., 2 Eslington Road, Newcastle.
1885 Oct. 28	Adie, George, 46 Bewick Road, Gateshead.
1885 June 24	Allgood, Miss Anne Jane, Hermitage, Hexham.
1886 Jan. 27	Allgood, Robert Lancelot, Titlington Hall, Alnwick.
1898 Mar. 30	Allison, Thomas M., M.D., 22 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1899 May 31	Angus, William Henry, 3 Stockbridge, Newcastle.
1893 Sept. 27	Archer, Mark, Farnacres, Gateshead.
1899 Oct. 25	Armstrong, Miss Mary, The Elms, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1884 Jan. 30	Armstrong, Thomas John, 14 Hawthorn Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Mar. 30	Armstrong, William Irving, South Park, Hexham.
1897 Nov. 24	Arnison, William Drewitt, M.D., 2 Saville Place, Newcastle.
1896 July 29	†Baily, Rev. Johnson, Hon. Canon of Durham and Rector of Ryton.
1882	†Bates, Cadwallader John, M.A., Langley Castle, Northumberland.
1893 Feb. 22	Baumgartner, John Robert, 10 Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1894 July 25	Bell, W. Heward, Seend, Melksham, Wiltshire.
1892 April 27	Bell, Thomas James, Cleadon, near Sunderland.
1900 May 30	Blair, Charles Henry, 32 Hawthorn Road, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1874 Jan. 7	†Blair, Robert, F.S.A., South Shields.
1892 Mar. 30	Blenkinsopp, Thomas, 3 High Swinburne Place, Newcastle.
1888 Sept. 26	Blindell, William A., Wester Hall, Humshaugh.
1896 Dec. 23	Blumer, G. Alder, M.D., Butler Hospital for the Insane, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
1892 Dec. 28	Bodleian Library, The, Oxford.
1892 June 29	Bolam, John, Bilton, Lesbury, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1897 July 28	Boot, Rev. Alfred, St. George's Vicarage, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1883 Dec. 27	Bosanquet, Charles B. P., Rock, Alnwick, Northumberland.
1898 July 27	Bosanquet, Robert Carr, The Greek School at Athens.
1883 Dec. 27	Boutflower, Rev. D. S., Vicarage, Monkwearmouth.
1883 June 27	Bowden, Thomas, 42 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1892 May 25	Bowes, John Bosworth, 18 Hawthorn Street, Newcastle.
1899 Aug. 30	Bowes, Richard, Monkend, Croft, Darlington.
1888 Sept. 26	Boyd, George Fenwick, Moor House, Leamside, Durham.
1894 Feb. 28	Boyd, William, North House, Long Benton.

Date of Election.	
1891 Dec. 23	Braithwaite, John, 20 Lansdowne Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1898 Mar. 30	Bramble, William, New Benwell, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	†Brewis, Parker, 32 Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1896 July 29	Brock-Hollinshead, Mrs., Woodfoot House, Shap, Westmorland.
1897 Nov. 24	Brooks, Miss Ellen, 14 Lovaine Place, Newcastle.
1860 Jan. 4	Brown, Rev. Dixon, Unthank Hall, Haltwhistle.
1892 Feb. 24	Brown, George T., 51 Fawcett Street, Sunderland.
1891 Dec. 23	Brown, The Rev. William, Old Elvet, Durham.
1893 June 28	Browne, Thomas Procter, Grey Street, Newcastle.
1884 Sept. 24	Bruce, The Hon. Mr. Justice, Yewhurst, Bromley, Kent.
1897 Nov. 24	Bryers, Thomas Edward, Sunderland.
1891 Sept. 30	Burman, C. Clark, L.R.C.P.S. Ed., 12 Bondgate Without, Alnwick.
1889 April 24	Burnett, The Rev. W. R., Kelloe Vicarage, Coxhoe, Durham.
1888 Nov. 28	Burton, William Spelman, 19 Claremont Park, Gateshead.
1884 Dec. 30	Burton, S. B., Jesmond House, Highworth, Wilts.
1897 Jan. 27	Butler, George Grey, Ewart Park, Wooler.
1887 Nov. 30	Cackett, James Thoburn, 24 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1885 April 29	Carlisle, The Earl of, Naworth Castle, Brampton.
1892 Dec. 28	Carr, Frederick Ralph, Lympston, near Exeter.
1892 July 27	†Carr, Sidney Story, 14 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1882	Carr, Rev. T. W., Long Rede, Barming, Maidstone, Kent.
1896 Oct. 28	Carr-Ellison, H. G., 15 Portland Terrace, Newcastle.
1884 Feb. 27	Carr-Ellison, J. R., Hedgeley, Alnwick, Northumberland.
1901 Feb. 27	Carrick, Frederick, 1 Sedgewick Place, Gateshead.
1894 Jan. 31	Carse, John Thomas, Amble, Acklington.
1887 Oct. 26	Challoner, John Dixon, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1885 Nov. 25	Charleton, William L., Muskham Grange, Muskham, Notts.
1892 Feb. 24	Charlton, Oswin J., B.A., LL.B., 1 Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1885 May 27	Chetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester.
1895 Nov. 27	Clapham, William, Park Villa, Darlington.
1898 Aug. 27	Clayton, Mrs. N. G., Chesters, Humshaugh.
1883 Dec. 27	†Clephan, Robert Coltman, Marine House, Tynemouth.
1893 July 26	Cooper, Robert Watson, 2 Sydenham Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Corder, Herbert, 10 Kensington Terrace, Sunderland.
1886 Sept. 29	Corder, Percy, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle.
1893 July 26	†Corder, Walter Shewell, 4 Rosella Place, North Shields.
1898 Feb. 23	Crawhall, Rev. T. E., Vicarage, North Shields.
1892 Oct. 26	Cresswell, G. G. Baker, Junior United Service Club, London, S.W.
1898 Nov. 30	Cresswell, Lionel, Woodhall, Calverley, Yorks.
1888 Feb. 29	†Crossman, Sir William, K.C.M.G., Cheswick House, Beal.
1896 Feb. 26	Cruddas, W. D., Haughton Castle, Humshaugh.

Date of Election.	
1897 Dec. 15	Culley, Francis John, 5 Northumberland Terrace, Tynemouth.
1889 Aug. 28	Culley, The Rev. Matthew, Thropton, Rothbury.
1888 Mar. 28	Darlington Public Library, Darlington.
1891 Nov. 18	Deacon, Thomas John Fuller, 10 Claremont Place, Newcastle.
1844 about	†Dees, Robert Richardson, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle.
1887 Aug. 31	†Dendy Frederick Walter, Eldon House, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1884 Mar. 26	Dickinson, John, Park House, Sunderland.
1893 Mar. 9	Dickinson, William Bowstead, Healey Hall, Riding Mill.
1883 June 27	Dixon, John Archbold, 5 Wellington Street, Gateshead.
1884 July 2	Dixon, David Dippie, Rothbury.
1898 Aug. 27	Dodds, Edwin, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1884 July 30	Dotchin, J. A., 65 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1900 Jan. 31	Dowson, John, Morpeth.
1897 May 26	Drummond, Dr., Wyvestow House, South Shields.
1884 Mar. 26	Dunn, William Henry, 5 St. Nicholas's Buildings, Newcastle.
1891 Aug. 31	Durham Cathedral Library.
1883 Oct. 31	Emley, Fred., Ravenshill. Durham Road, Gateshead.
1886 Aug. 28	Featherstonhaugh, Rev. Walker, Edmundbyers, Blackhill.
1901 Feb. 27	Fenwick, Featherston, County Chambers, Westgate Road, Newcastle.
1865 Aug. 2	Fenwick, George A., Bank, Newcastle.
1900 Oct. 31	Fenwick. Miss Mary, Moorlands, Newcastle.
1894 Nov. 28	Ferguson, John, Dene Croft, Jesmond, Newcastle.
1900 Jan. 31	Findlay, James Thomas, *Gazette* Office, South Shields.
1899 Oct. 25	Forbes, Rev. E. E., Chollerton Vicarage, Wall, R.S.O.
1894 May 30	Forster, Fred. E., 32 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1896 Aug. 26	Forster, George Baker, M.A., Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1887 Dec. 28	Forster, John, 26 Side, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Forster, Robert Henry, Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1894 Oct. 31	Forster, Thomas Emmerson, Farnley, Corbridge, R.S.O.
1895 Jan. 30	Forster, William Charlton, 33 Westmorland Road, Newcastle.
1892 April 27	Francis, William, 20 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1859 Dec. 7	Gibb, Dr., Westgate Street, Newcastle.
1883 Oct. 31	†Gibson, J. Pattison, Hexham.
1879	Gibson, Thomas George, Lesbury, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1878	Glendinning, William, 4 Lovaine Place, Newcastle.
1886 June 30	Gooderham, Rev. A., Vicarage, Chillingham, Belford.
1886 Oct. 27	Goodger, C. W. S., 20 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1895 Sept. 25	Gough, Rev. Edward John, D.D., Vicar and Canon of Newcastle.
1894 Aug. 29	Gradon, J. G., Lynton House, Durham.
1886 Aug. 28	Graham, John, Findon Cottage, Sacriston, Durham.
1883 Feb. 28	Green, Robert Yeoman, 11 Lovaine Crescent, Newcastle.
1891 Oct. 28	Greene, Charles R., North Seaton Hall, Newbiggin-by-the-Sea.

Date of Election.	
1845 June 3	†Greenwell, Rev. William, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A. Scot., Durham.
1883 Feb. 28	Greenwell, His Honour Judge, Greenwell Ford, Lanchester, co. Durham.
1877 Dec. 5	†Gregory, John Vessey, 10 Framlington Place, Newcastle.
1891 Jan. 28	Haggie, Robert Hood, Blythswood, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1893 Mar. 8	Hall, Edmund James, Dilston Castle, Corbridge.
1883 Aug. 29	Hall, James, Tynemouth.
1887 Mar. 30	Halliday, Thomas, Myrtle Cottage, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1900 May 30	Hardcastle, Dr., 5 Sydenham Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Aug. 31	Harrison, John Adolphus, Saltwellville, Low Fell, Gateshead.
1884 Mar. 26	Harrison, Miss Winifred A., 9 Osborne Terrace, Newcastle.
1893 Aug. 30	Hastings, Lord, Melton Constable, Norfolk.
1898 July 29	Haswell, F. R. N., Monkseaton, Whitley, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1889 Feb. 27	*Haverfield, F. J., M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
1894 May 30	Hedley, Edward Armorer, Windsor Crescent, Newcastle.
1886 April 28	Hedley, Robert Cecil, Corbridge.
1891 Oct. 28	Heslop, George Christopher, 8 Northumberland Terrace, Tynemouth.
1883 Feb. 28	†Heslop, Richard Oliver, 12 Princes Buildings, Akenside Hill, Newcastle.
1883 Feb. 28	Hicks, William Searle, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1888 April 25	Hindmarsh, William Thomas, Alnbank, Alnwick.
1882	Hodges, Charles Clement, Hexham.
1865 Aug. 2	†Hodgkin, Thomas, D.C.L., F.S.A., Barmoor Castle, Northumberland.
1895 Jan. 30	Hodgkin, Thomas Edward, Bank, Newcastle.
1899 June 28	Hodgson, George Bryan, 41 Trajan Avenue, South Shields.
1890 Jan. 29	†Hodgson, John Crawford, F.S.A., Abbey Cottage, Alnwick.
1884 April 30	Hodgson, John George, Exchange Buildings, Quayside, Newcastle.
1898 Aug. 27	Hodgson, T. Hesketh, Newby Grange, Carlisle.
1887 Jan. 26	Hodgson, William, Westholme, Darlington.
1900 July 25	Hodgson, William George le Fleming Lowther, Dee View, Trevor, Llangollen, N. Wales.
1895 July 31	Hogg, John Robert, North Shields.
1895 Dec. 18	Holdsworth, David Arundell, 2 Rectory Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1891 Oct. 28	Holmes, Ralph Sheriton, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1892 June 29	Hopper, Charles, Monkend, Croft, Darlington.
1876	Hoyle, William Aubone, The Croft, Ovingham.
1896 April 29	Hudson, Robert, Hotspur Street, Tynemouth.
1896 July 29	Hulbert, Rev. C. L., Brathay Vicarage, Ambleside.
1888 July 25	Hunter, Edward, 8 Wentworth Place, Newcastle.
1894 May 30	Hunter, Thomas, Jesmond Road, Newcastle.
1897 Dec. 15	Hutchinson, Edward, The Elms, Darlington.

Date of Election.	
1894 Feb. 28	Ingledew, Alfred Edward, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1886 May 26	†Irving, George, West Fell, Corbridge.
1900 Jan. 31	Jobling, James, Morpeth.
1882	Johnson, Rev. Anthony, Healey Vicarage, Riding Mill.
1883 Aug. 29	Johnson, Rev. John, Hutton Rudby Vicarage, Yarm.
1883 Feb. 28	Joicey, Sir James, Bart., M.P., Longhirst, Morpeth.
1899 June 28	Keeney, Michael John, 9 Rectory Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1900 Jan. 31	Kitchin, The Very Rev. G. W., Dean of Durham.
1884 Oct. 29	†Knowles, William Henry, F.S.A., 37 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1901 Feb. 27	Kyle, Robert, 11 Prudhoe Street, Alnwick.
1899 Feb. 22	Lamb, Miss Elizabeth, Newton Cottage, Chathill.
1896 Dec. 23	Lambert, Thomas, Town Hall, Gateshead.
1897 July 28	Laws, Dr. Cuthbert Umfreville, 1 St. George's Terrace, Newcastle.
1896 Sept. 20	Lee, Rev. Percy, Shilbottle Vicarage, Alnwick.
1894 Sept. 26	Leeds Library, The, Commercial Street, Leeds.
1899 Nov. 29	Leeson, Richard John, Bank Chambers, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1897 Jan. 27	Lightfoot, Miss, 5 Saville Place, Newcastle.
1885 April 29	Liverpool Free Library (P. Cowell, Librarian).
1887 June 29	Lockhart, Henry F., Prospect House, Hexham.
1899 July 26	London Library, c/o Williams & Norgate, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London.
1896 Nov. 25	Longstaff, Dr. Geo. Blundell, Highlands, Putney Heath, London, S.W.
1885 Nov. 6	Lynn, J. R. D., Blyth, Northumberland.
1888 June 27	Macarthy, George Eugene, 9 Dean Street, Newcastle.
1877	McDowell, Dr. T. W., East Cottingwood, Morpeth.
1899 Mar. 29	Macaulay, Donald, Clive Cottage, Alnwick.
1884 Mar. 26	Mackey, Matthew, Jun., 8 Milton Street, Shieldfield, Newcastle.
1884 Aug. 27	Maling, Christopher Thompson, 14 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1891 May 27	Manchester Reference Library (C. W. Sutton, Librarian).
1899 Aug. 30	Markham, R. M., 9 Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1895 Sept. 25	Marley, Thomas William, Netherlaw, Darlington.
1884 Mar. 26	Marshall, Frank, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1893 Oct. 25	Mather, Philip E., Bank Chambers, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1900 Jan. 31	Matheson, Thomas, Morpeth.
1891 Mar. 25	Maudlen, William, Dacre House, North Shields.
1899 June 28	May, George, Simonside Hall, near South Shields.
1888 Sept. 26	Mayo, William Swatling, Riding Mill, Northumberland.
1891 Jan. 28	Melbourne Free Library, c/o Melville, Mullen, and Slade, 12 Ludgate Square, London, E.C.
1897 Mar. 31	Milburn, Joseph, Highfield, Marlborough, Wilts.
1898 Mar. 30	Milburn, J. D., Guyzance, Acklington.
1891 Aug. 26	Mitcalfe, John Stanley, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1896 Jan. 29	Mitchell, Charles William, LL.P., Jesmond Towers, Newcastle.

Date of Election.	
1883 Mar. 28	Moore, Joseph Mason, Harton, South Shields.
1900 Aug. 29	Morrison, Rev. William Wilson, Greatham Vicarage, Stockton.
1883 May 30	Morrow, T. R., The Cave, Fulford, York.
1883 Oct. 13	Motum, Hill, Town Hall, Newcastle.
1900 April 25	Mundahl, Henry S. 18 Grainger Street West, Newcastle.
1886 Dec. 29	Murray, William, M.D., 9 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1896 Oct. 28	Neilson, Edward, Brandling Place, Newcastle.
1883 June 27	Nelson, Ralph, North Bondgate, Bishop Auckland.
1900 May 30	Newbigin, Edward Richmond, 15 Chester Crescent, Newcastle.
1896 April 29	Newcastle, The Bishop of, Benwell Tower, Newcastle.
1884 July 2	Newcastle Public Library.
1895 Feb. 27	Newton, Robert, Brookfield, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1898 May 25	New York Library, c/o Mr. B. F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.
1883 Jan. 31	Nicholson, George, Barrington Street, South Shields.
1899 Oct. 25	Nicholson, Joseph Cook, 7 Framlington Place, Newcastle.
1900 Feb. 28	Nightingale, George, Whitley, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1896 May 27	†Nisbet, Robert Sinclair, 8 Grove Street, Newcastle.
1885 May 27	Norman, William, 23 Eldon Place, Newcastle.
1893 Feb. 22	Northbourne, Lord, Betteshanger, Kent.
1892 Nov. 30	†Northumberland, The Duke of, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.
1889 Aug. 28	Oliver, Prof. Thomas, M.D., 7 Ellison Place, Newcastle.
1901 Feb. 27	Ogilvie, Frank Stanley, Rosella House, North Shields.
1897 Oct. 27	Ogle, Capt. Sir Henry A., bt., R.N., United Service Club, Pall Mall, London.
1898 June 28	Ogle, Newton, 59 Green Street, Grosvenor Square, London.
1898 June 28	*Ogle, Bertram Savile, Mill House, Steeple Aston, Oxon.
1894 Dec. 19	†Oswald, Joseph, 33 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1901 Jan. 30	Page, Frederick, M.D., 1 Saville Place, Newcastle.
1899 Oct. 25	Palmer, Rev. Thomas Francis, 25 Grosvenor Road, Newcastle.
1889 Aug. 28	Park, A. D., 11 Bigg Market, Newcastle.
1896 Oct. 28	Parker, Miss Ethel, The Elms, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1884 Dec. 30	Parkin, John S., 11 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
1898 Nov. 30	Patterson, Thomas, 155 Stratford Road, Newcastle.
1898 Jan. 26	Peacock, Reginald, 47 West Sunniside, Sunderland.
1893 Mar. 29	Pearson, Rev. Samuel, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1882	Pease, John William, Pendower, Benwell, Newcastle.
1891 Feb. 18	Pease, Howard, Bank, Newcastle.
1884 Jan. 30	Peile, George, Greenwood, Shotley Bridge.
1884 Sept. 24	Phillips, Maberly, F.S.A., Pevensey, Bycullah Park, Enfield, London.
1880	Philipson, Sir George Hare, M.A., M.D., Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1888 Jan. 25	Plummer, Arthur B., Prior's Terrace, Tynemouth.
1898 Feb. 23	Porteus, Thomas, Office of H.M. Inspector of Factories, 35 Paradise Street, Birmingham.

Date of Election	
1901 Jan. 30	Pritchett, James Pigott, Darlington.
1880	Proud, John, Bishop Auckland.
1896 Mar. 25	Pybus, Rev. George, Grange Rectory, Jarrow.
1882	Pybus, Robert, 42 Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1900 April 25	Radford, H. G., Stonehill, East Sheen.
	Ravensworth, The Earl of, Ravensworth Castle, Gateshead.
1887 Aug. 31	Reavell, George, jun., Alnwick.
1883 June 27	Redpath, Robert, 5 Linden Terrace, Newcastle.
1888 May 30	Reed, The Rev. George, Killingworth, Newcastle.
1894 Feb. 28	Reed, Thomas, King Street, South Shields.
1897 April 28	Reid, C. Leopold, Wardle Terrace, Newcastle.
1883 Sept. 26	Reid, William Bruce, Cross House, Upper Claremont, Newcastle.
1891 April 29	Reynolds, Charles H., Millbrook, Walker.
1894 May 30	Reynolds, Rev. G. W., Rector of Elwick Hall, Castle Eden, R.S.O.
1886 Nov. 24	Rich, F. W., Eldon Square, Newcastle.
1894 Jan. 31	Richardson, Miss Alice M., Sunderland.
1891 July 29	Richardson, Frank, Clifton Cottage, Clifton Road, Newcastle.
1895 July 31	Richardson, Mrs. Stansfield, Thornholme, Sunderland.
1898 Jan. 26	Richardson, William, Rosehill, Willington Quay.
1892 Mar. 30	Riddell, Edward Francis, Cheeseburn Grange, near Newcastle.
1889 July 31	Ridley, John Philipson, Bank House, Rothbury.
1900 Aug. 29	Ridley, J. T., Gosforth, Newcastle.
1877	Ridley, The Right Hon. Viscount, Blagdon, Northumberland.
1883 Jan. 31	Robinson, Alfred J., 55 Fern Avenue, Newcastle.
1900 Aug. 29	Robinson, Rev. F. G. J., Rector of Castle Eden, R.S.O.
1884 July 30	Robinson, John, Delaval House, 3 Broxbourne Terrace, Sunderland.
1900 Mar. 28	Robinson, John David, Beaconsfield, Coatsworth Road, Gateshead.
1882	Robinson, William Harris, 20 Osborne Avenue, Newcastle.
1894 Mar. 25	Robson, John Stephenson, Sunnilaw, Claremont Gardens, Newcastle.
1877	Rogers, Rev. Percy, M.A., 17 Pulteney Street, Bath.
1901 Jan. 30	Rudd, Alfred George, Ivy Croft, Stockton.
1893 April 26	Runciman, Walter, jun., 11 Windsor Terrace, Newcastle.
1892 Sept. 28	Rutherford, Henry Taylor, Ayre's Terrace, South Preston, North Shields.
1891 Dec. 23	Rutherford, John V. W., Briarwood, Jesmond Road, Newcastle.
1887 Jan. 26	Ryott, William Hall, 7 Collingwood Street, Newcastle.
1888 July 25	Sanderson, Richard Burdon, Warren House, Belford.
1898 April 27	Sanderson, William John, Heathdale, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1900 Feb. 28	Sanderson, William John, jun., Heathdale, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1899 Nov. 29	Savage, Rev. E. Sidney, Rectory, Hexham.
1893 Nov. 29	†Savage, Rev. H. E., Hon. Canon of Durham and Vicar of St. Hild's, South Shields.

Date of Election.	
1891 Sept. 30	Scott, John David, 4 Osborne Terrace, Newcastle.
1886 Feb. 24	Scott, Walter, Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1888 June 27	Scott, Walter, Holly House, Sunderland.
1899 June 28	Sedcole James, Barker Terrace, South Shields.
1888 Oct. 31	Simpson, J. B., Bradley Hall, Wylam.
1895 May 29	Simpson, Robert Anthony, East Street, South Shields.
1889 May 29	Sisson, Richard William, 13 Grey Street, Newcastle.
1892 Oct. 26	Skelly, George, Alnwick.
1898 Mar. 30	Smith, George, Brinkburn, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1891 Nov. 18	Smith, William, Gunnerton, Barrasford.
1893 Mar. 29	Smith, William Arthur, 71 King Street, South Shields.
1883 June 27	South Shields Public Library.
1901 Jan. 30	Spain, George R. B., Victoria Square, Newcastle.
1866 Jan. 3	*†Spence, Charles James, South Preston Lodge, North Shields
1883 Dec. 27	Spencer, J. W., Newbiggin House, Kenton, Newcastle.
1882	Steavenson, A. L., Holywell Hall, Durham.
1891 Jan. 28	Steel, The Rev. James, D.D., Vicarage, Heworth.
1883 Dec. 27	Steel, Thomas, 51 John Street, Sunderland.
1882	Stephens, Rev. Thomas, Horsley Vicarage, Otterburn, R.S.O.
1887 Mar. 30	Straker, Joseph Henry, Howdon Dene, Corbridge.
1880	Strangeways, William Nicholas, Lismore, 17 Queen's Avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N.
1897 Jan. 27	Sunderland Public Library.
1879	Swan, Henry F., North Jesmond, Newcastle.
1866 Dec. 5	Swinburne, Sir John, Bart., Capheaton, Northumberland.
1900 Aug. 29	Tate, William Thomas, Hill House, Greatham.
1895 Feb. 27	Taylor,[1] Rev. E. J., F.S.A., St. Cuthbert's, Durham.
1892 April 27	†Taylor, Thomas, F.S.A., Chipchase Castle, Wark, North Tynedale.
1884 Oct. 29	Taylor, Rev. William, Tyneholm, Haltwhistle.
1896 Nov. 25	Temperley, Henry, LL.M., Lambton Road, Brandling Park, Newcastle.
1896 Dec. 23	Temperley, Robert, M.A., 18 Windsor Terrace, Newcastle.
1888 Aug. 29	Thompson, Geo. H., Baileygate, Alnwick.
1899 June 28	Thompson, Mrs. George, Hollyhirst, Winlaton, co. Durham.
1898 Dec. 21	Thompson, John, Cradock House, Cradock Street, Bishop Auckland.
1892 June 29	Thomson, James, jun., 22 Wentworth Place, Newcastle.
1891 Jan. 28	Thorne, Thomas, Blackett Street, Newcastle.
1888 Feb. 29	Thorpe, R. Swarley, Devonshire Terrace, Newcastle.
1888 Oct. 31	Todd, J. Stanley, Percy Park, Tynemouth.
1888 Nov. 28	†Tomlinson, William Weaver, Lille Villa, The Avenue, Monkseaton.

[1] Elected originally Jan. 31, 1876, resigned 1887.

Date of Election.	
1894 Mar. 28	Toovey, Alfred F., Ovington Cottage, Prudhoe.
1897 April 28	Toronto Public Library, c/o C. B. Cazenove & Sons, Agents, 26 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.
1897 Mar. 31	Townsend, Brian, Snowsgreen House, Shotley Bridge.
1900 Oct. 31	*Trinity College Library, Dublin.
1900 May 25	Turnbull William, Whin Bank, Rothbury.
1889 Oct. 30	Vick, R. W., Strathmore House, West Hartlepool.
1896 July 29	*Ventress,[2] John, Wharncliffe Street, Newcastle.
1894 May 30	Vincent, William, 18 Oxford Street, Newcastle.
1901 Jan. 30	Waddilove, George, Brunton, Wall, North Tyne.
1884 Feb. 27	Waddington, Thomas, Eslington Villa, Gateshead.
1891 Mar. 25	Walker, The Rev. John, Hon. Canon of Newcastle, Whalton Rectory, Morpeth.
1896 Nov. 25	Walker, John Duguid, Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1896 Oct. 28	Wallis, Arthur Bertram Ridley, B.C.L., 3 Gray's Inn Square, London.
1889 Mar. 27	Watson-Armstrong, W. A., Cragside, Rothbury.
1896 Aug. 26	Watson, Henry, West End, Haltwhistle.
1892 Oct. 26	Watson, Mrs. M. E., Burnopfield.
1887 Jan. 26	Watson, Thomas Carrick, 21 Blackett Street, Newcastle.
1895 May 29	Weddell, George, 20 Grainger Street, Newcastle.
1899 May 30	Welburn, William G., Clapham & Co., Dean Street, Newcastle.
1879 Mar. 26	†Welford, Richard, Thornfield Villa, Gosforth, Newcastle.
1889 Nov. 27	Wheler, E. G., Swansfield, Alnwick.
1898 Oct. 26	White, R. S., 121 Osborne Road, Newcastle.
1886 June 30	Wilkinson, Auburn, M.D., 14 Front Street, Tynemouth.
1893 Aug. 30	Wilkinson, William C., Dacre Street, Morpeth.
1896 May 27	Williams, Charles, Moot Hall, Newcastle.
1891 Aug. 26	Williamson, Thomas, jun., Lovaine House, North Shields.
1897 Sept. 29	Willyams, H. J., Barndale Cottage, Alnwick.
1885 May 27	Wilson, John, Archbold House, Newcastle.
1900 April 25	Wilson, J. A. E., Archbold Terrace, Newcastle.
1898 May 25	Windley, Rev. H. C., St. Chad's, Bensham, Gateshead.
1891 Sept. 30	Winter, John Martin, 17 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth.
1900 Nov. 28	Winter, Charles, 30 Brandling Park, Newcastle.
1896 Feb. 26	Wood, Herbert Maxwell, 66 John Street, Sunderland.
1898 Nov. 30	Wood, C. W., Wellington Terrace, South Shields.
1899 Nov. 29	Wood, William Henry, Bank Chambers, Mosley Street, Newcastle.
1898 April 27	Wooler, Edward, Danesmoor, Darlington.
1897 Oct. 27	Worsdell, Wilson, Gateshead.
1886 Nov. 24	Wright, Joseph, jun., Museum, Barras Bridge, Newcastle.
1894 Oct. 31	Young, Hugh W., F.S.A. Scot., Tortola, Nairn, N.B.

[2] Elected originally Aug. 6, 1856.

SOCIETIES WITH WHICH PUBLICATIONS ARE EXCHANGED.

Antiquaries of London, The Society of, Burlington House, London.
Antiquaries of Scotland, The Society of, Museum, Edinburgh.
Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, The, 20 Hanover Square, London, W.
Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, The, 7 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.
Royal Society of Ireland, Dublin.
Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, The
Royal Academy of History and Antiquities, Stockholm, Sweden.
Royal Society of Norway, The, Christiania, Norway.
Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, The, 42 Union Street, Aberdeen.
Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, The. Museum, Berwick.
Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, The, c/o Secretary, The Rev. W. Bazeley, Matson Rectory, Gloucester.
British Archaeological Association, The (Secretaries, George Patrick and Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley), 16 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.
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Canadian Institute of Toronto, The
Clifton Antiquarian Club, The, c/o Alfred E. Hudd, 94 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
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Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville, France.
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Trier Stadtbibliothek (c/o Dr. Keuffer), Trier, Germany.
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T. M. Fallow, Coatham, Redcar.

Yours very truly
D Embleton

D. EMBLETON, M.D., A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

(From a photograph by Mr. R. Ruddock of Newcastle.)

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA.

I.—OBITUARY NOTICE OF DENNIS EMBLETON, M.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.C.P., L.S.A., a vice-president of the Society.

By F. W. Dendy.

[Read on the 28th November, 1900.]

Dr. Dennis Embleton, an honoured and respected vice-president of this society, died at his residence, 19 Claremont place, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the 12th November, 1900, at the great age of 90 years. He only joined the society as late as 1886, but he had, for many years before he became a member, taken a warm interest in antiquarian subjects. He had assisted our distinguished vice-president, Dr. Greenwell, in excavating barrows, and in verifying the human and animal remains which they contained, and he had contributed articles on dialect and local topography to the other publications enumerated at the end of this notice.

Dr. Embleton was born in Newcastle on the 1st October, 1810. He was a son of Thomas Embleton, a native of East Chevington, and of Anne, his wife, whose maiden name was Anne Cawood. His father died in 1820, and after his death Dennis Embleton and his elder brother, Thomas William Embleton, were brought up and educated under the guardianship of their uncle, Mr. George Hill of Kenton, colliery viewer. He sent the lads to Witton-le-Wear school, where they were educated under the rev. George Newby.

The brother, Thomas William Embleton, was trained by his uncle as a mining engineer, and left Newcastle in 1831, to become viewer of Middleton colliery, near Leeds.

Dennis Embleton, after leaving Witton school, was, on the 23rd April, 1827, bound apprentice for five years to Mr. Thomas Leighton, a surgeon in Newcastle.

Mr. Leighton was then a vice-president of the Newcastle Medical Society, and the senior surgeon of the Infirmary. He practised and died in his house in Westgate Road. This house was pulled down in 1889, and its site now forms part of the Post Office. Before his term

expired, Dennis Embleton left Newcastle, with Mr. Leighton's consent, to complete his studies in London, and entered himself at Guy's and St. Thomas's hospitals, and at Grainger and Pilcher's School of Anatomy and Physiology.

According to an article written by Dr. Embleton for the Northumberland and Durham Medical Society's transactions, upon the Newcastle Medical Society, the duties of himself and his fellow-apprentice, J. J. Garth Wilkinson, were to make the necessary tinctures and juleps, to dispense the medicines ordered in the day book by their master, and deliver them at the houses of the patients. The first things they had to learn, after the making up of medicines, were how to perform venesection and to draw teeth. His description of Newcastle, at the time of his apprenticeship, taken from the same article (p. 54), is sufficiently interesting to bear reproduction :—

'The town at that date,' he says, 'had a somewhat mediaeval appearance. The Castle Garth was overcrowded with mean streets and houses; King Street and Queen Street were there, and you could almost shake hands from house to house from the upper stories across the head of the Side; the Maison Dieu of Sir Roger Thornton stood at the east end, and St. Thomas's Chapel at the west end of the Sandhill, on which was the Fish Market, in the open air; the New Gate was standing, and the town wall extended thence eastward as far as the north end and west side of Grainger Street; Eldon Square was non-existent; the town wall from Pink Tower extended to the Postern across Neville Street and the site of the railway station to beyond Paradise Row; the Forth, its tavern, and the Lime Trees Avenue, enclosed by a low brick wall, surrounded the square of grassy lawn; the open space where now is the Sheep Market, and green fields all round the Infirmary, where partridges and rabbits were found and shot at times, Anderson Place in Pilgrim Street, the old Butcher Market, the Post Office at the top of Dean Street, and the old Theatre opposite to it; all these, and much more, existed, awaiting the operation of improver and of the tooth of *edax rerum*.'

On the 18th June, 1834, Dr. Embleton was admitted as a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and on the 16th April, 1835, as a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries.

In May, 1835, he went to Paris, and from there, in company with another medical student named William Croser, he set off on a journey, performed in great part on foot and in other part by diligence, from Paris to Strasburg, then through Baden to Switzerland,

and afterwards by the Simplon Pass to Milan, Genoa, Rome, Pisa, Florence, Venice, and Trieste. From Trieste they went to Vienna, and returned thence, through the Tyrol and by way of Chur, again to Paris.

The journey lasted nearly two years, and besides seeing all the places of ordinary interest on their route, the two students visited numerous medical schools and hospitals, especially at Strasburg, Milan, Pavia, Pisa, and Vienna. At Pisa, where they remained some time, they petitioned the authorities of the Imperial and Royal University to be admitted to examination for the doctorate of medicine. The request was granted, and on the 14th September, 1836, Dr. Embleton and his companion passed the ordeal, and were granted their diplomas. The event was evidently one of considerable interest in the town, for, after they had received their degrees, a band of music accompanied them back to their hotel, and a local poet recited a short laudatory poem of which he gave them an illuminated copy.

In 1836-37, Dr. Embleton attended medical courses in Paris in connexion with hospitals there, and in the latter year he returned to practise in his native town. In 1838 he was appointed lecturer on anatomy and physiology to the Newcastle-upon-Tyne School of Medicine; in 1852, reader in medicine at the Durham University; in 1853 that university admitted him to his M.D. degree by diploma, and in 1857 he became a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. In 1870 the School of Medicine became closer connected with Durham University, and he was appointed the first professor of medicine and of the practice of physic. He was also, from 1858 to 1872, the representative of Durham University on the General Medical Council. He held the position of physician, and afterwards that of consulting physician, to the Infirmary and of physician to the Dispensary.

In 1882 he occupied the presidential chair of the section of Sanitary Science and Preventive Medicine during the meeting of the Sanitary Science Congress in Newcastle.

Dr. Embleton took a keen interest in the erection of the new museum at Barras Bridge, and presented many valuable specimens of natural history to its shelves. He took an active part in the British

Association meetings held in Newcastle in 1863 and 1889. He was from 1828 a member, and from 1878 to his death a vice-president of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society. He joined our society, as has been said before, in 1886, and was elected a vice-president in 1895.

He contributed to medical literature a large number of articles relating to his profession, and for the *Magazine of Natural History* and the *Natural History Transactions of Northumberland, Durham, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, he wrote many important papers on natural history and biographical notices of several distinguished local naturalists, including memoirs of the lives of his life-long friends, Albany and John Hancock. He gave two lectures on Madeira (which he visited in the winter of 1880-81) to the members of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, and he was in later life a frequent contributor to the *Archaeologia Aeliana* and the *Proceedings* of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. A list of some of his published writings is appended to this notice. The list is voluminous, but it has been found difficult either to make it complete or to indicate in every case where the contribution can be found. It may be useful, however, to add that many of the papers bound together in one volume are to be found in the library of the Literary and Philosophical Society, under the title of Papers by Dr. Embleton, Miscellaneous Tracts, No. 382.

He was married in 1847, at Whickham, to Elizabeth Turner, who died in 1869. He had three children. His only son, Dr. Dennis Cawood Embleton of Bournemouth, predeceased him. At his death, Dr. Embleton left two daughters, one of whom, the elder, is married. A grandson, Dennis Embleton, is an undergraduate studying medicine at Christ's College, Cambridge.

The members of this society who could speak of Dr. Embleton from intimate personal knowledge left this world before him. We, who belong to a later generation, can only look back to this long extent of useful life, stretching through very nearly the whole of the nineteenth century, with respect and admiration for so much work so well done.

Archaeologia Aeliana.

1885.—Unde derivatur Corstopitum? Vol. xi. p. 137.

1887.—On certain Peculiarities of the Dialect in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Northumberland. Vol. xiii. p. 72.

1892.—The Barber Surgeons and Wax and Tallow Chandlers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with extracts from their records. Vol. xv. p. 228.

1894.—The 'Quigs buring Plas in Sidgatt,' Newcastle, the Swirle and the Lort Burn. Vol. xvii. p. 84.

1896.—Ruins of Buildings once existing on the Quayside, Newcastle. Vol. xviii. p. 258.

Reports of the Newcastle and Gateshead Medical Society.

On tenderness and pain of the pneumo-gastric nerves. Three parts; 1855-1874.

Two cases of insufficiency of abdominal wall. Plate. 1856.

On mesenteric disease ending in fatal hemorrhage. 1857.

A case of extroversion of bladder, etc. 1857.

A case of diphtheria—operation—death. 1858.

A case of cancer of stomach—sarcina ventr. 1858.

Three cases of 'dropped hands' from lead. 1859.

Case of hydrothorax—paracentesis—recovery. 1860.

A case of cancer of the stomach. 1861.

A case of schirrhus of oesophagus. 1861.

A case of stricture of oesophagus. 1861.

Two cases of hydro-pneumo—thorax. 1861.

Two cases of diseased kidney. 1862.

Annual report of Fever Hospital for 1857-58.

ditto. ditto. for 1861-62.

A case of cyanosis. 1862.

A case of diseased spleen. 1863.

On the use of chlorate of potass. 1863.

An account of a *post mortem* examination of an inveterate smoker of tobacco, *circa* 1670. Translated from the Latin of Kerkringius. 1864.

Report on a Turin monstrosity for Dr. Ellis. 1864.

Report (annual) of Fever Hospital. 1864-65.

On the cattle plague or typhus in Newcastle. 1865.

A case of rupture of median line of abdomen in a male. 1867.

A case of two fractured and united femora of an Ancient Briton. 1867.

A case of occlusion of ductus comm. choledocus and rupture of gall bladder. 1867.

Case of aortic aneurism, pressing on the vena cava descendens and on the vena azygos. 1868.

Case of fractured skull with re-union in an Ancient Briton. 1868.

A case of aneurism of abdominal aorta. 1869.

A case of epilepsy—paralysis—recovery. 1870.

A case of salivary calculus. 1870.

Notes of a case of death from hydrate of chloral. 1870.

A case of hemiplegia and partial aphasia. 1871.

Sequel of a case of epilepsy. 1871.

A case of locomotor ataxy. 1872.

A case of hypertrophied heart. 1873.

Two cases of diabetes mellitus. 1873.

Cases of hydrophobia with remarks, etc. 1873.

Magnetic iron ore in tea instead of iron filings. 1874.

Case of tumour (intracranial) at the base pressing on pons varolii, medulla oblongata and cerebellum. 1875.

What is a generation of men? 1875.

Microscopical demonstration of Favus (Achorion Schönleinii). 1875.

A case of recto-vesical fistula in the male. 1877.

A case of psoriasis generalis. 1877.

A case of pyloric obstruction, etc. 1877.

A case of acute pleuritis—hydrothorax—paracentesis—injection—recovery. 1877.

A case of aneurism of the aorta. 1880. Dr. R. Elliot's.

Notice of the life of T. M. Greenhow, M.D., with list of his publications. 1881.

Vivisection and the Anti-Vivisection Acts. 1881.

Sea-sickness. 1883.

Address on the opening of the Durham College of Medicine. 1890.

The Newcastle Medical Society One Hundred Years ago, with biographical notices of the members, etc. 1891.

Annual and Magazine of Natural History.

On the Anatomy of Eolis, Nudibranchiate Mollusk. Part 1, by Albany Hancock and D. Embleton. Five plates. 1845.

On the Anatomy of Eolis. Part 2. Two plates. 1848.

do. do. Part 3. do. 1849.

do. do. Part 4. do. 1849.

An Osteological Study. By D. E. and G. B. Richardson. 1846. Summary of, in Archaeological Journal.

On the Anatomy of Scyllaea, Nudibranchiate Mollusk. Report British Association. 1847. Albany Hancock and D. Embleton.

Transactions of the Tyneside Naturalists' Field Club.

Vol. I. p. 288.—Account of a Ribbon Fish (Gymnetrus). Two Plates. By A. H. and D. E. July, 1849.

Vol. II. p. 1.—Address to the members of the Tyneside Naturalists' Field Club on March 22, 1851.

Vol. II. p. 103.—On the two Species of Rat in England. Two plates. 1850.

Vol. II. p. 110.—On the short Sunfish (Orthragoriscus Mola). One plate. 1850.

Vol. II. p. 119.—Summary of Observations on the Anatomy of Doris, a Nudibranchiate Mollusk. By Albany Hancock and D. Embleton. 1852.

Vol. IV. p. 50.—Memorandum of the Occurrence of the Skeleton of the Bottle-nose whale (Hyperoodon Butzkoff, Lacépède), and of the Skull of the Grampus (Delphinus Orca, Cuvier), in the Bed of the Tyne. 1858.

Vol. V. p. 196.—On the Skull and other Bones of Loxomma Allmanni. By D. E. and T. Atthey. 1874.

Vol. VI. p. 34.—Notes on a Tumulus at Grundstone Law, Northumberland. By the Rev. W. Greenwell and D. Embleton.

Natural History Transactions of Northumberland, Durham, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Vol. I. p. 143—On an Ancient British burial at Ilderton, with Notes on the Skull. By the Rev. W. Greenwell and D. Embleton.

Vol. I. p. 324.—Notice of the Life of the late Joshua Alder, Esq.

Vol. V. p. 118.—Memoir of the Life of Albany Hancock, F.L.S., etc.

Vol. V. p. 146.—On the Vendace.

Vol. VII.—Presidential Address on May 7, 1879.

Vol. VII. p. 43.—A Paper on Eggs.

Vol. VII. p. 223.—Memoir of the Life of Mr. W. C. Hewitson, F.L.S.

Vol. VIII.—Note on the Birds seen at Nest House, Felling Shore, in May and June, 1884; Note on the occurrence of Shrimps in the Tyne; and Note on the capture of Tunnies and of a fine specimen of the 'Bergylt' off the Tyne. June, 1884.

Vol. VIII.—The Tyne, The Lort Burn, and The Skerne.

Vol. VIII.—On the Spinal Column of Loxomma Allmanni.

Vol. IX.—A Catalogue of Place-names in Teesdale.

Vol. X.—Description of Stump-Cross Cavern [quoted in president's address, pp. 190-1.]

Vol. XI.—Memoir of the Life of John Hancock. 1891.

Vol. XI. p. 255.—On the Egg: lecture with introduction. 1893.

Other Publications.

1847.—On the anatomy of Scylloea. British Association *Reports*, 1847. Part ii., p. 77.

1858.—Notes on whale caught at Newbiggin-on-Sea. [This is listed as being in the *Nat. Hist. Trans.*, vol. vi., but cannot be found in that publication.]

1859.—The microscope and its uses: a newspaper report.

1864.—Notes on anatomy of Chimpanzee. *Nat. Hist. Review.*

1869.—Anniversary address of President, Northern Branch of the British Medical Association at Newcastle, 1869.

1870.—Introductory address, section of medicine, annual meeting British Medical Association, Newcastle, 1870.

1872.—Anomalies of arrangement, muscular, arterial, nervous. *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, vol. vi. p. 216, 1872.

1870.—On the Shoulder Tip Pain, and other Sympathetic Pains in Diseases of the Pancreas and Spleen, and on the symmetry of these organs. Letter from physicians to governors of Fever Hospital.

1877.—Case of univentricular or tricoelian heart; with Dr. Rob. Elliot.

1882.—Address delivered at the anniversary meeting of the Northern Branch of the British Medical Association in Newcastle, July 13th, 1882.

1882.—On the treatment of sea-sickness. *Journal of Medicine*, No. 32, 1882.

1882-3.—Address of President to section of sanitary science and preventive medicine. *Trans. Sanitary Institute of Great Britain*, 1882-83.

1889.—The 'Three Indian Kings,' on the Quayside, Newcastle. A paper read at the inaugural dinner at the Quayside Restaurant, Limited, December 17th, 1888.

1890.—History of the Medical School, from 1832 to 1872.

1890.—Address at the Opening of the Durham College of Medicine, on the 1st day of October, 1890.

1890.—Newcastle Medical Society a hundred years ago.

1890.—Biographical notices on members of the Philosophical and Medical Society one hundred years ago.

1890, Oct.—The Ahd Pitman's Po'try tiv ees Marrah.
Local Dialect Dialogues.

1891.—Barber-surgeons and chandlers of Newcastle. *Journal* office (different from that in the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. xv. p. 228).

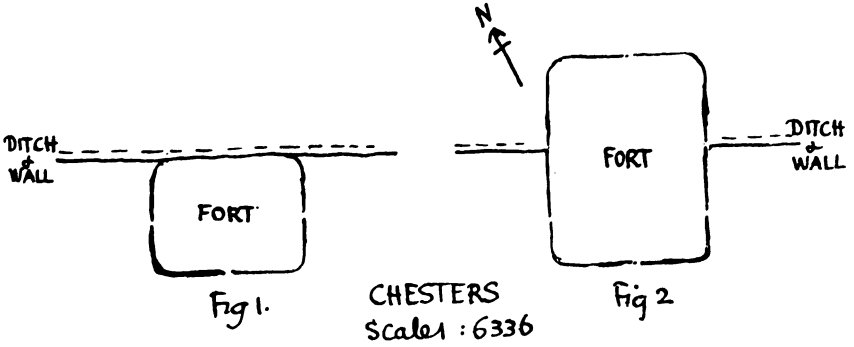
1880-81.—A Visit to Madeira in the Winter of 1880-81. Two lectures delivered before the members of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle.

II.—EXCAVATIONS AT CHESTERS IN SEPTEMBER, 1900.

By F. Haverfield, M.A., F.S.A.

[Read on the 31st October, 1900.]

The forts which guard the eastern portion of Hadrian's Wall have one very remarkable characteristic. They all or nearly all stand across the line of the Wall; their areas extend both north and south of it. On the central and western portions of the Wall this feature seems not to recur. Either the forts are detached from the Wall, as at Chesterholm, Carvoran and Castlesteads, or their northern ramparts coincide with the Wall, as at Carrawburgh, Housesteads, Great Chesters and Birdoswald. But Chesters, Halton, Rutchester, Benwell, Wallsend, and perhaps Newcastle, are different from these. Their areas reach out beyond the line of the Wall, and the Wall, instead of coinciding with their northern ramparts, meets some point in their eastern and western sides. The reason for this arrangement has often been discussed and especially in connexion with Chesters, which is by far the best known and the most frequently visited of the six forts. Among other guesses, the conjecture has been occasionally propounded that the northern part of the fort which projects beyond the Wall may be a later addition. According to this idea, the first position of things at Chesters, or any similar fort, would have been that shown in fig. 1; then the north wall of the fort would have



been pulled down, the ditch in front of it filled up, and the area of the fort extended out northwards as it appears in fig. 2, which shews

in outline the fort and the adjacent Wall as they now exist at Chesters.

The idea of such extension is not, in itself, improbable. We know that the Romans did enlarge forts when they thought fit. We know, too, that the vicinity of a fort, to the south of the Wall, was often occupied by buildings, so that an enlargement south of the Wall might in some cases have brought the ramparts inconveniently close to baths or temples, and, therefore an enlargement northwards would be preferable. Moreover, the excavations at Birdoswald, made in 1895-8, revealed one definite case of reconstruction, which, though not precisely parallel to the supposed enlargement of Chesters fort, is at least very striking. At Birdoswald (fig. 3) two distinct lines

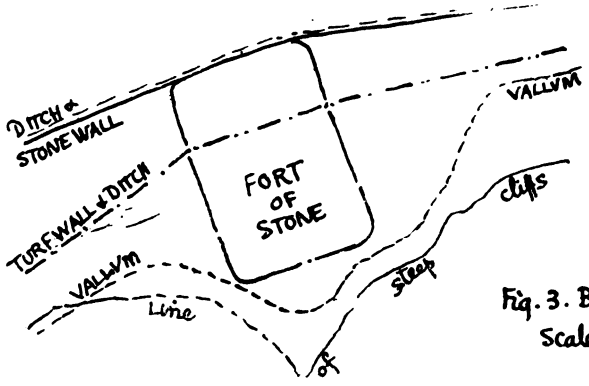


Fig. 3. BIRDOSWALD
Scale 1:6336

of defence were found to have existed, the one the stone wall, and the other, slightly south of it, a wall of turfs, each wall with a ditch in front. The turf wall is the earlier; its line crosses the area of the fort now visible at Birdoswald, and the spade has shown that the north guard-chamber of the north-east gate is planted on its ditch. When it was in use, the fort in its present shape was obviously not yet built, though possibly there existed, instead, a smaller fort with earthen ramparts. Subsequently the Romans destroyed this earlier line at Birdoswald and for a couple of miles near it. They substituted a new stone wall a little to the north of it and they erected a stone fort, the northern rampart of which coincides with the Wall. Whether the Vallum is contemporaneous with the first or the second of these two lines, is not

quite clear and fortunately does not now concern us. The important point is that two lines can be traced at Birdoswald. The one is an earlier wall of turf, and perhaps a fort, now recognizable only by excavation. The other is a wall and fort of stone which superseded the earlier work and can be seen above the surface.[1]

With these facts in mind, I seized an opportunity which happened to offer itself last September, and carried out a small excavation at Chesters, in order to see if the spade would yield there, as at Birdoswald, any definite evidence about an earlier and a later line. Mrs. Clayton most kindly granted permission for the work and showed the excavators much kindness during it. We are also indebted to her tenant, Mr. Hall, for his consent. Mr. R. C. Bosanquet and Mr. T. Hesketh Hodgson, both of whom are familiar with the particular kind of excavation proposed, came to aid in the supervision and the verification of results, and Mr. Hodgson surveyed the ground. Both Mr. Bosanquet and Mr. Hodgson also revised these notes for printing.

The idea of the excavation was as follows :—If there is any sort of truth in the conjecture above mentioned, that the existing fort at Chesters (fig. 2) is a later construction, superseding an originally straight line, that original line ought to be discoverable by the spade. Its wall or rampart would, of course, have been totally destroyed, but the ditch in front, although filled up, ought to be recognizable with absolute certainty. For, be it observed, there is no more effective way of leaving your mark upon this earth than the very literal one of digging a hole or ditch. The ditch may be filled up, and the grass grow over it, and all visible traces disappear, and yet it will remain recognizable to the end of time. The 'forced soil' with which it has been filled is 'disturbed' or mixed in substance, and distinct in texture and coherence from the undisturbed sub-soil round it: it contains bits of freestone, for instance, where no freestone could come by nature, and, if human habitations be near, it may contain also bits of pottery and bones, and other traces of mankind. If, moreover, the ditch was open for any length of time,

[1] See the Reports of the Cumberland Excavation Committee in the *Transactions of the Cumb. and Westm. Arch. Society*, xiv. and xv.

vegetation will have sprung up along its bottom, and objects will have fallen in from above, and the excavator finds at the bottom of the forced soil a thin or thick layer of dark matter, which is decayed vegetation, with here and there an alien object in it. The precise features, of course, vary with the circumstances of each case, and their determination sometimes present considerable difficulties, demanding minute supervision and laborious observation of details. But there are always features of some sort wherever there has been a ditch, and we had, therefore, good reason to expect that we could prove whether there was or was not a buried ditch at Chesters. The line of the search was, of course, fixed for us. The points where the Wall meets the east and west sides of the fort have been laid bare in earlier excavations. These points are at the north-eastern and north-western gateways. The Wall itself comes up to the south guard-chamber of each gateway, and its ditch is slightly in advance of that. We had only to join these points, and trench across the line thus given. If we found undisturbed soil underneath, we should conclude that there was no earlier Wall and ditch running continuously straight across. If, on the other hand, we found disturbed soil and the resemblances of a ditch, we should conclude with equal confidence that there had been such an earlier line of defence.

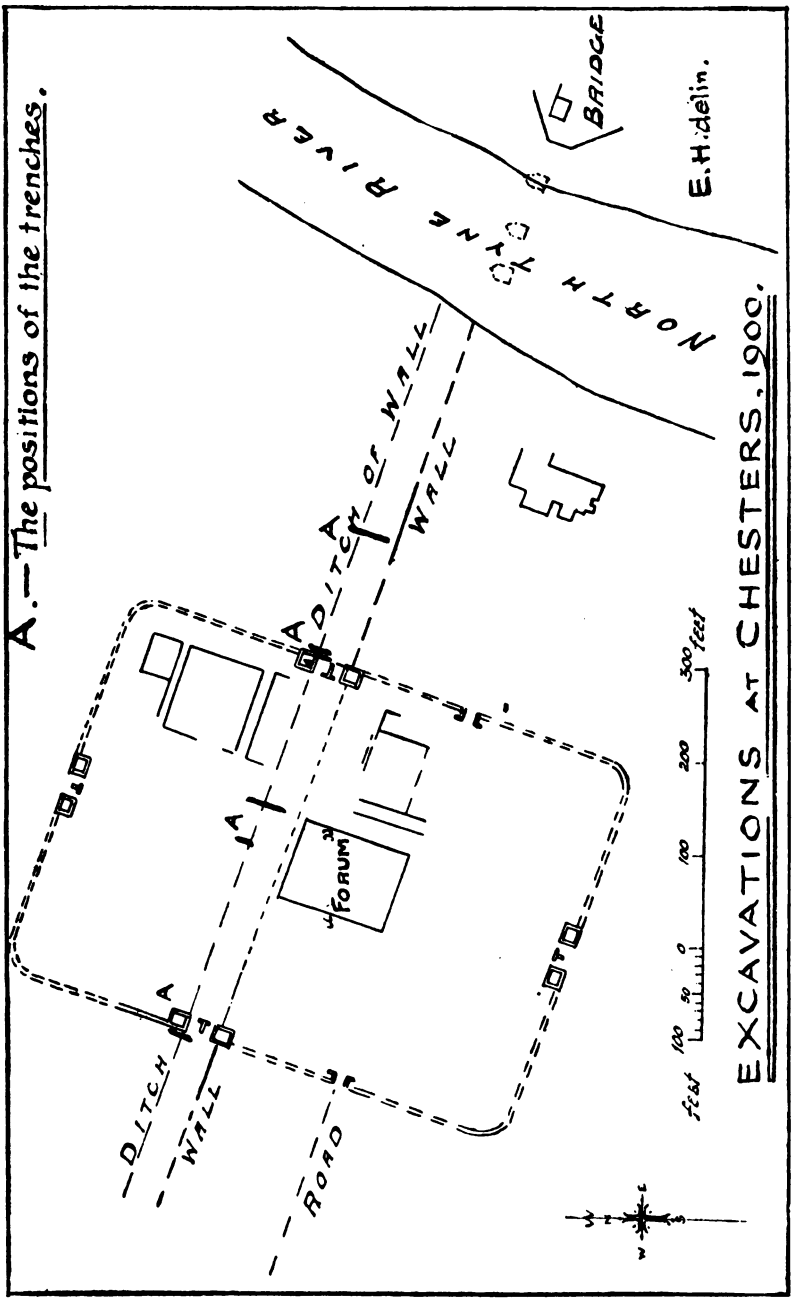
Our results may be briefly summarised at once, before proceeding to details. At both gateways, and at two points close to the 'forum' and the centre of the fort, we found clear evidence of an original depression, in all respects like a ditch, occupying exactly the line of the supposed ditch, dating from the Roman period, but unquestionably older than the existing fort. The width of this ditch, as we may confidently call it, was found to exceed twenty-seven feet from lip to lip, and its depth to exceed six feet, while in shape it resembles the ditches in front of the Birdoswald Turf Wall, of the Great Wall, and of the Vallum of Pius in Scotland. No serious doubt remains, I think, that the original line of defence at Chesters was continuously straight, and that the existing fort, which sits across that straight line, is of later date. That is, we have at Chesters, as at Birdoswald, an earlier and a later line. On the other hand, two points remain quite uncertain. We found no evidence to show whether the Wall of the earlier line was

constructed of earth or turf or stone. Nor did we find evidence to show whether an earlier fort existed at Chesters corresponding to the earlier line. There are *à priori* probabilities in both matters, which are fairly obvious, but we may add that we doubt whether anything but a lucky accident will ever give us direct evidence.

I pass on to the details of the excavation. Trenches were dug at five points indicated on the plan on the next page. I shall describe them from east to west, which is, in the main, the order in which they were dug.

(1) As a preliminary precaution we commenced a little distance outside the fort, at about fifty yards east of the north-east gate. Here we dug a trench to ascertain the exact position of the ditch, which, on any hypothesis, would necessarily be present in front of the wall outside the fort. The berm, that is, the level space between the wall and its ditch, was found to be about twenty-two feet wide. The scarp of the ditch, and the mixed soil filling it, were recognized with clearness, the mixed soil contained debris from the Wall and some bits of Roman pottery. The subsoil here is, as all our trenches proved, gravel, with much water flowing through it, and this, we were assured, is the general subsoil of the large field or park in which the fort stands.

(2) The position of the ditch indicated by the preceding trench would take it, if prolonged, through the north guard chamber of the north-east gateway. Accordingly we dug across the gateway and the face of the guard chamber. A small trench, right in front of the southern exit, showed undisturbed gravel at two feet below the present surface, and a second trench in front of the northern exit showed an appearance of disturbed soil suggesting the edge of the ditch, but inflow of water prevented our examining this and an attempt to sink a hole in the middle of the guard chamber was similarly frustrated. A large trench was dug at thirteen feet east of the guard chamber on the line of the ditch and, beneath much surface debris, revealed disturbed soil, mixed with freestone fragments, bones, and Roman pottery, and below that, eight feet under the present surface, the black matter which indicates vegetable growths. Water hindered us much, but it was plain that our trench went down into the middle of a filled-up ditch. This ditch cannot have been in use when the gate and guard


A.—The positions of the trenches.
NORTH TYNE RIVER
BRIDGE
E.H. delin.
A
DITCH
WALL
ROAD
FORUM
A
DITCH
WALL
A
feet 100 50 0 100 200 300 feet
EXCAVATIONS AT CHESTERS, 1900.

chamber were constructed. It would have blocked all access to the gate, and, even if it went no further west than our trench, it would have left the guard-chamber wall without its berm.

(3) We next dug a trench forty-one feet long across the line of the supposed ditch in the middle of the fort, just north of the north-east angle of the forum. Here the ground, to a depth of three or three-and-a-half feet, consists of broken stone and debris, and beneath that is the untouched gravel which represents approximately the old Roman level—though the actual grassy surface which the Romans found, would, of course, be some inches, or perhaps a foot, above this gravel subsoil. This undisturbed subsoil was apparent at either end of our trench, but in the middle we found a gap, twenty-seven feet wide from lip to lip, filled with mixed soil (fig. 4). Across the middle of this, resting on

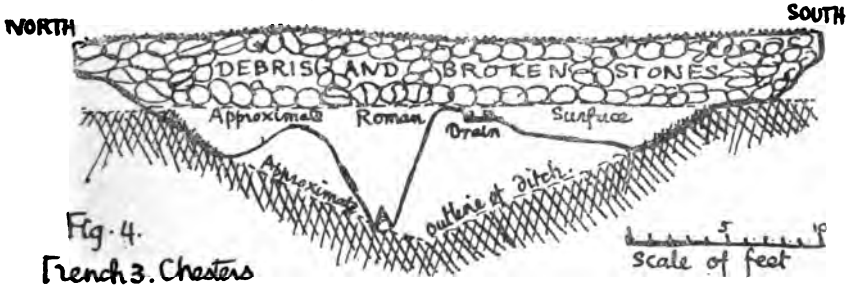


Fig. 4.
Trench 3. Chesters

The continuous blackline shews the extent excavated. The part left blank is the ditch. The cross hatching shews the gravel subsoil which has never been disturbed. At A the leather, bones, peat etc. were found

the mixed soil at about the old Roman level, we found a Roman drain or gutter, lying *in situ:* its course is oblique to the streets of the fort and nearly parallel to its diagonal, being from south by east to north by west. On digging down into the mixed soil we were able to clear out the two slopes ; the northern singularly clear and having a descent of rather more than 'one and a half upon one' (33°), the southern less well preserved but having apparently the same steepness. The mixed soil filling the gap between these slopes was mainly gravel till a depth of about six and a half feet below the present surface: below was a stratum of grey clay, and below that again, a substantial layer of moss,

peat and decayed vegetation, containing also evidence of man. The vegetation included decayed leaves and bits of alder and of birch, retaining still its silver bark and looking as if it had been cut by a knife : the evidences of man were a leather object which was probably a bag, a bronze nail, and some animal bones, including a deer's antler. It may seem strange at first sight that wood should have kept its bark and leather its shape ever since Roman days, but it is to be remembered that a damp soil, to which the air has no access, preserves such objects with great perfection. Roman objects of leather have often been dug up : in 1897 we found a Roman leather shoe in the buried ditch of the turf wall at Birdoswald and a branch of birch with its silver bark was discovered in the same year by the Scottish antiquaries under the earthern rampart of the Roman fort at Ardoch.[2] Beneath the peat, at the depth of nine feet from the present surface, we came to the ordinary gravel subsoil. The points thus ascertained gave us with sufficient accuracy the shape of the ditch (fig. 4). It was not a flat-bottomed ditch like that of the Vallum, but one of the kind called V-shaped—though, in fact, the name is misleading for the sides are never really so steep nor the angle so definite as in a V. The ditches of the turf wall, the stone wall, and the Scottish wall of Pius are all of this shape, and the steepness of their sides, so far as it has been measured, agrees with the slopes observed at Chesters, and mentioned above. When originally constructed, our ditch must have been at least twenty-seven feet in width from lip to lip, and probably more, for twenty-seven feet is the distance of the two edges of untouched subsoil, and, in Roman times, this subsoil must have been covered with mould and soil so that the actual lips of the ditch must have been higher and further apart. Similarly, its depth probably exceeded six feet. Our trench reached the bottom at about six feet below the Roman level as indicated by the gravel, but, as we have just said, this level is a little below the probable truth, and allowance must also be made for the fact that, owing to the existence of the drain *in situ*, which we did not wish needlessly to disturb, our trench did not perhaps reach the bottom of the ditch at quite its deepest part.

[2] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xxxii., 435.

The history of the whole is clear enough. The ditch was dug along this line, and while it was open, peaty vegetation grew in its damp bottom, and bits of wood, a leather bag, and other objects tumbled in. Probably it was open for some while—since the layer of peat is substantial. Finally it was filled in, principally with gravel of the spot, a new fort was built over it, and in particular a drain or gutter was taken at this point obliquely across it. One would like to know whence came the gravel with which it was filled. The most natural supposition is that it came from the early rampart behind it, which must have been demolished when it was filled up. In this case, that rampart was constructed in part at least of gravel. But it might also have come from the new ditch which had to be dug round the new northern face of the stone fort.

(4) A small trench, eight feet long, and eight feet deep at its deepest, was dug thirty-eight feet west of the large trench just described, in order to test the continuance of the ditch. The point selected was over the line of the north side of the ditch and the results were quite satisfactory. The north side of the ditch was easily distinguished by the difference between the bank of untouched gravel and the mixed soil lying against it. The mixed soil was principally gravel, and below the gravel, darker matter, as in No. 3, but the steepness of the slope seemed slightly greater. This, of course, may be an accident, due to a little of the original bank having fallen off.

(5) Finally, a hole was sunk immediately against the outer wall of the north guardchamber of the north-west gateway. This, like the corresponding guardchamber of the opposite gateway, mentioned above (No. 2), stands on the line of the supposed ditch. We found the face of the wall of the guardchamber piled up with large 'cobbles' to a depth of forty inches below the present surface. This present surface has been obtained by excavation, and is some inches apparently below the Roman surface. Similar cobbles were found also to underlie the stones of the wall, and the whole arrangement obviously represents the filling of a ditch across which heavy masonry was to be erected. We found almost exactly the same feautres at the guard-chamber of Birdoswald which is built over the filled-up ditch of the turf

wall. A similar piece of work was found in 1897 at Carrawburgh, at the point where the east rampart of that fort crosses some sort of hole or depression.

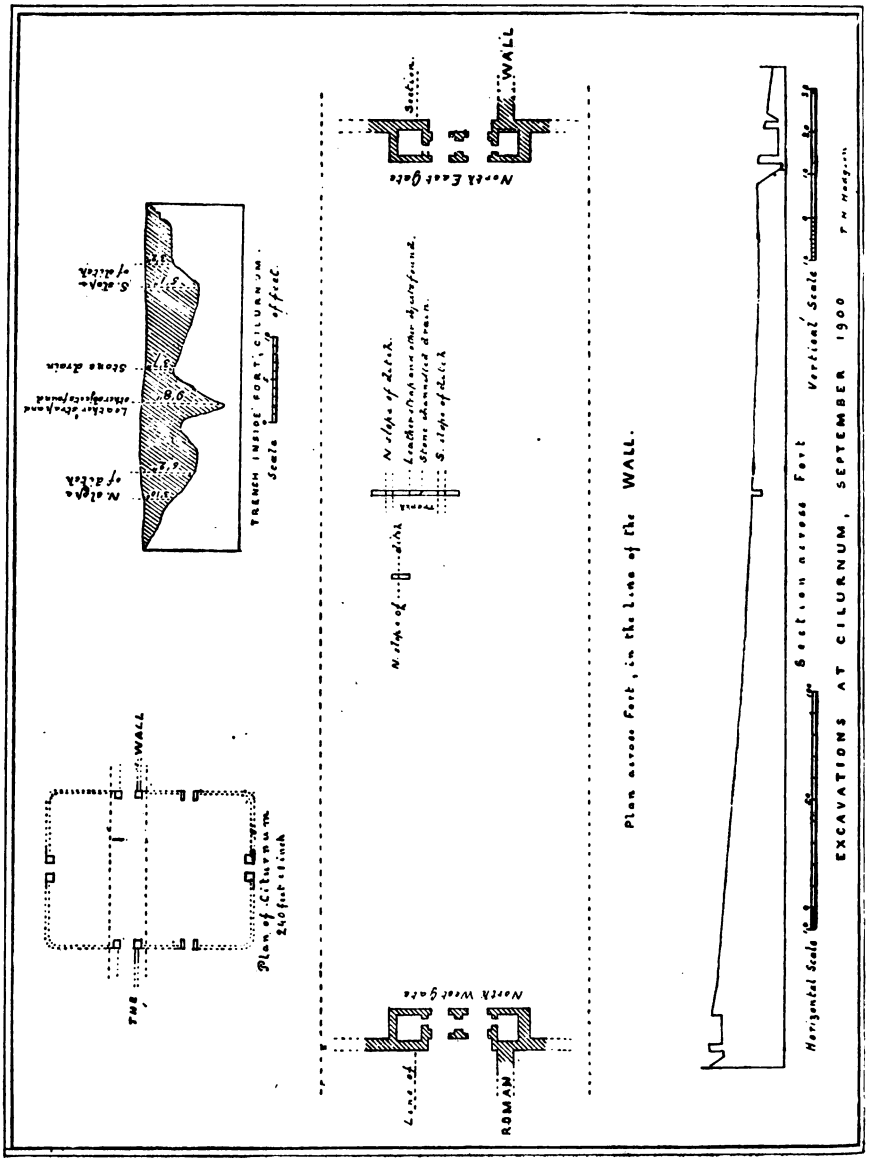
The net results of the work have already been summarized in a preceding paragraph. It remains to indicate a few possibilities or probabilities which it suggests in relation to the history of the Wall as a whole. I may premise that I have no new idea to promulgate or conjecture to sustain. During the course of protracted excavations on the Wall, I have seen too many ideas and conjectures destroyed by the spade to care very much about such things. But, if the problem of the Wall is ever to be solved, it is imperatively necessary that its students should eagerly note the indications provided by each new discovery, and deduce suggestions thence for fresh research. Such suggestions must not be mistaken for articles of faith: still less must they be called theories, which I find archaeologists apt to consider even more sacred than creeds themselves. They are simply clues towards the solution of a great difficulty, which no sensible man will neglect.

In the present case, it is important to note that we now possess definite evidence at Chesters of two periods, an earlier wall of unknown character (either stone or turf or earth), and a later wall of stone connected with the fort of stone. We meet precisely the same two periods at the North Tyne bridge, close by the fort of Chesters. There we find an earlier bridge and a later bridge, and the earlier bridge is earlier than the wall of stone, while the later bridge, if not demonstrably coeval, is a least in complete harmony with that later wall.[3] We find two periods again at Birdoswald, an earlier wall of turf, and a later wall of stone with its own fort of stone. We find again a series of forts on the eastern part of the Wall, planted across it in precisely the same position at Chesters, and, perhaps, possessing the same history. These instances cannot be neglected. So long as Birdoswald stood alone, it was impossible to base upon it any sort of conclusions, however tentative. But we have now added to it one, and perhaps several other cases, and the idea that there were two walls, one before the other, becomes an idea of which the researcher may take note, as supported by real facts.

[3] See the results of the latest examination of the bridge, described by the late Mr. Sheriton Holmes in this series, xvi., 328:338.

The problem of the Wall has, in short, changed considerably during the last six years' excavations. The old controversy concerned the Wall and the Vallum. Were they of the same date, men asked, or was the Vallum older than the Wall? Was the Vallum the work of Agricola, and the Wall the work of Hadrian; or the Vallum the work of Hadrian, and the Wall the work of Severus? But recent excavations have shown, with some approach to conclusiveness, that the Vallum and the Wall are coeval, as Hodgson and Bruce maintained. The controversy now concerns the Wall. We meet now some reasons to believe there were two walls, and we shall have to ask: Are these reasons conclusive? and if so, who built which wall? Did Agricola build the first and Hadrian the second, or Hadrian the first and Severus the second? I must confess that I find a difficulty myself in ascribing anything to Agricola on our existing evidence. It is likely enough that he held the country across which the Wall runs, and there is no inherent improbability in the idea that he built some of its forts, but direct proof is still wanting to connect him with either Wall or forts. The excavations and discoveries of the last ten years, much as they have contributed to illustrate the Wall, have thrown no light on Agricola, and this consistent absence of evidence is becoming a serious argument. One thing alone is plain: the testimony of ancient historians, and ancient coins and ancient inscriptions, combine to prove that Hadrian built a wall from Tyne to Solway. Amid all the mists and shifting lights of controversy, we may still continue to use that phrase.

By way of postscript, I desire to mention one point more. I have heard regrets expressed, and I share those regrets myself, that the trenches at Chesters could not have been kept open for the inspection of antiquaries who might wish to see them. But it is a matter which nature and not man decides. The subsoil at Chesters contains much water, which flowed into our trenches with great rapidity, and, where it did not wholly hinder our digging, obliterated in a very few hours the more important features, which were necessarily those at the bottom. Indeed, I fear that very little is to be gained in general by leaving open the trenches of excavations such as those which I have just described. Those who, from hour to hour, watch the actual


EXCAVATIONS AT CILURNUM, SEPTEMBER 1900
Section across Fort
Horizontal Scale
Vertical Scale
Plan across Fort, in the Line of the WALL.
North West gate
North East gate
ROMAN WALL
Plan of Cilurnum 240 feet to inch
TRENCH INSIDE FORT, CILURNUM.
Scale of feet.
Stone drain
Modern debris and disturbed ground
Natural debris of Rock
WALL

digging out of earth, may see the evidence produced before their eyes in the most definite and unmistakable fashion. But the colours of fresh soil soon loose their vividness, and the most striking proofs may easily be obscured by an inflow of subsoil water, or a passing shower of rain, or the careless footstep of a cow or an antiquary.

I have re-examined this inscription and have to confirm the reading of Bishop Bennet. The original inscription was DISCIPVLINAE AVGGG. Later AVGGG was altered to AVGVSTI. Probably therefore the stone was put up in A.D. 209-211 and altered in 212 A.D. [F.H.]

III.—TYNEMOUTH PRIORY, TO THE DISSOLUTION IN 1539, WITH NOTES OF TYNEMOUTH CASTLE.

By Horatio A. Adamson, a vice-President of the Society.

[Read on the 26th September, 1900.]

When I read a paper in December, 1895, on 'Tynemouth Castle after the Dissolution of the Monastery,' it was suggested that I should deal with the monastery from the earliest times to the dissolution. I have often thought of the subject, but hesitated to approach it as it had been so exhaustively dealt with by the late W. Sidney Gibson in his great work on the monastery, published in 1846 and 1847. Much information on the subject of our monasteries having however come to light during the last fifty years, I am emboldened to lay before the members of the society an outline of the history of the venerable ruins which stand upon the bold promontory at the mouth of the river Tyne, at the foot of which the North Sea beats with, too often, a loud 'ship-wrecking roar.'

The history of the monastery is an eventful one, and carries us back to the time when Edwin, the first christian king of Northumbria, was converted to christianity through the efforts of Paulinus the Roman missionary. Edwin was married to a christian princess, Ethelburga, daughter of Eadbald, king of Kent, and was baptized on Easter eve in 627[1] at York.

It is stated that in the year 626 the first christian church at Tynemouth was built of wood by Edwin; but as he was not baptized until the following year it is probable the erection of the church would not take place until after his baptism. He was slain at Hatfield or Heathfield on 12th October, 633,[2] by Penda, king of the Mercians. His queen and her children escaped by sea to Dover with Paulinus, then bishop of Northumbria. Oswald ascended the throne in the year following the death of Edwin. He built a church of stone at Tynemouth. In 647 he was slain at Maserfield by Penda, who has

[1] *Leaders in the Northern Church*, by Dr. Lightfoot, bishop of Durham.

[2] J. R. Green, *The Making of England*, p. 271.

been described as the anti-christ of his time. At his death he was in his 38th year. His head was struck off and afterwards it was placed in St. Cuthbert's coffin by the monks of Lindisfarne. St. Cuthbert is invariably represented as holding in his hands the head of St. Oswald. On the death of St. Oswald, Oswin—who, it is stated, was born at South Shields—was elevated to the throne of Deira, which consisted of that portion of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria which lay between the Tees and the Humber, the capital of which was at York. He was betrayed by earl Hunwald and murdered by Oswy, king of Bernicia, on the 13th September, 651, at Gilling, near Richmond, in Yorkshire. His body was brought to Tynemouth and buried in the oratory of the Virgin Mary. It is from this king and martyr that Tynemouth obtained its great reputation as a place of pilgrimage.

The monastery at Tynemouth, from its formation until Norman times, had a separate existence and was not subject—as it became in after years—to any other religious house. In 685,[3] Herebald is spoken of as abbot of the monastery. Although it ceased to be an abbey when it was made subject to Jarrow, afterwards to Durham, and lastly to St. Albans in Hertfordshire, the name of 'abbey' still clings to it. In songs which have been written about it, it is always spoken of as 'Tynemouth Abbey.'[4] Old customs and traditions die hard.

During the Saxon period, the monastery suffered terribly at the hands of the Viking hordes who constantly made descents upon our shores. The close proximity of the monastery to a tidal river and standing on a bold promontory at the mouth of the Tyne, it was a conspicuous object to the Danish marauders. It was plundered by them in 788, 794, and in 800.[5] In 865 the church and all the monastic buildings were destroyed by fire in an incursion by the Danes under Hinguar and Hubba, and the nuns of St. Hilda at Hartlepool, who had taken refuge in the church, were massacred. In a paper on 'S. Hilda's Church, Hartlepool,' by the rev. J. F. Hodgson (*Arch. Ael.* vol. xvii. p. 205) he doubts the story of the nuns of St. Hilda being burnt

[3] *History of Northumberland*, by C. J. Bates, p. 73.

[4] 'Where yon Abbey ruin stands hoary,
Nodding o'er the silent deep.'—*Stobbs.*

[5] *The Monastery at Tynemouth*, by W. S. Gibson, vol. ii. p. 96.

with the monastery, and says it rests on the unsupported testimony of the late W. Sidney Gibson, although he does not think he invented the occurrence. The story is told in vol. i. p. 15 of Gibson's history of the monastery. If Mr. Hodgson had referred to p. 18 he would have found the authority for it. At this page is a condensed translation of the narrative given by Matthew of Westminster, who appeared to have derived his information from the ancient treatise of the life and miracles of S. Oswin, which has been attributed to a monk of St. Albans, who had taken up his abode at Tynemouth in 1111. It is preserved among the Cotton MSS. The passage reads :—

'In process of time the holy Virgins of the Nunnery of St. Hilda, the Abbess hoping by his (St. Oswin's) intercession to escape the persecutions of the Danes led by the brothers Hinguar and Hubba, took refuge in the church of the Holy Mother of God. In this rage of persecution the Nunnery was, with the others in the same (country) as it is believed, demolished, the holy Virgins being translated by marterdom to Heaven.'

In the years 870-876 and 1008[6] the church was ravaged and wasted by the Danes.

In the year 1065 an event occurred which was fraught with great consequences to the monastery. The relics of St. Oswin were discovered in consequence of a revelation to a monk named Edmund, who was sacrist of the monastery. Tosti, or Tostig, Saxon earl of Northumberland,[7] to whom the earldom had been given by king Harold, commenced the rebuilding of the monastery, and the relics of St. Oswin were placed in a shrine in the new church, which was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Oswin. In the year 1075 the independent life of the monastery came to an end. The church of Tynemouth was given, with the body of St. Oswin, by Waltheof (son of Siward, the great earl of Northumberland) to Aldwine, the prior, and brethren at Jarrow, and the relics of the saint were removed there; but were afterwards brought back and placed in the shrine.

Albery, or Alberie, earl of Northumberland,[8] confirmed the grant

[6] *The Monastery at Tynemouth*, vol. ii. p. 96.

[7] He was a son of Earl Godwin, and brother of Harold.—*History of Northumberland*, by Cadwallader J. Bates, p. 104; *Conquest of England*, by Green, p. 560.

[8] *History of Northumberland*, by Cadwallader J. Bates, p. 110.

RUINS OF TYNEMOUTH PRIORY FROM THE WEST, SHOWING THE STONE SCREEN.

to the monks at Durham, who had then removed from Jarrow. While the monastery was annexed to Jarrow and Durham, the monks at Durham made provision for the service of the church at Tynemouth, from which circumstance it may be concluded there were no resident monks at Tynemouth. In 1085 the gift was confirmed by the bishop of Durham.

Robert de Mowbray, Norman earl of Northumberland, who had come over with the Conqueror, was allied to the best families in the land, and had inherited, in addition to his patrimony, 280 manors from his uncle, the bishop of Coutances, expelled, in 1090, the monks of Durham from the church at Tynemouth, and granted the monastery to the Benedictine abbey of St. Alban—the premier abbey in England—for ever, and it remained a cell to St. Albans until the dissolution in 1539. This act of Robert de Mowbray was the cause of much strife between the convent at Durham and the abbey of St. Albans. In the year 1174 pope Alexander III. appointed commissioners, consisting of Roger, bishop of Worcester, Robert, dean of York, and master John de Saresbury, treasurer of Exeter, delegates to enquire into and settle the dispute between the convent at Durham and the abbot of St. Albans as to Tynemouth monastery, and the dispute was settled by the prior and convent of Durham giving up all claim to the church at Tynemouth, and the abbot and brethren of St. Albans giving up to the church at Durham the churches of Bywell St. Peter and Edlingham. (See *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. xiii. p. 92.)

Robert de Mowbray completed the church at Tynemouth, which had been commenced by earl Tosti. The portions of the Norman church which are now standing are all that remain of the church commenced and finished by these renowned men. (See plate III.)

The church consisted of nave, transepts, and choir. The choir was terminated by an apse. A tower surmounted the intersection of nave, transepts and choir. The foundation of the apse was uncovered a few years ago by the late Mr. R. J. Johnson, architect, during some excavations. The length of the Norman church, it is stated by Gibson, was one hundred and forty-five feet, and the breadth between the walls was forty-six and a half feet, but from the position of the

apse, as discovered by Mr. Johnson, the church was about one hundred and ninety feet in length. The position of the apse in Gibson's map is incorrect. The nave consisted of seven bays, with an aisle on each side.

In 1093 Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, was slain at Alnwick on St. Brice's day (November 13), and his eldest son, Edward, fell in the same expedition. They were both buried at Tynemouth in the chapter house. Queen Margaret died at Edinburgh of grief four days later. The bodies of Malcolm and his son were afterwards removed to Dunfermline, and buried in front of the high altar of the abbey, which was founded by king Malcolm and his queen. The date of the removal of the bodies is given by Gibson as 1247, but another and more recent writer gives the date as 1115.[9]

Since this paper was written, a correspondence has appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* about an article entitled 'The Royal Dust of Scotland,' and the question has been asked 'Where lies the dust of Malcolm Canmore?' It is stated that when the Scots arrogantly demanded the body of their king from the prior of Tynemouth, the body of a man of low birth of Sethune (Monkseaton), was given to them, and so the arrogance of the Scots was met. The writer of 1530, may be correct that the body still lies at Tynemouth in some unknown spot.

After Tynemouth became a cell of St. Albans, it was subjected to pastoral visits from the abbots. Abbot Simon, in the reign of Henry II., committed grievous havoc on the food supplies of the priory during his visit. It is said that when the abbot had swept away everything, oxen with the plough were brought to him, and he was told, with tears, that all had been devoured, and that these were the last that remained of the oxen of the prior's ploughmen, and they were offered to be devoured; whereupon the abbot, justly rebuked, prepared to depart with his retinue from the priory, leaving it despoiled of all its supplies for that year. The extent of the hospitality to be received from the prior was subsequently limited.

[9] In the 'Heraldic Visitation of the Northern Counties,' by Thomas Tonge, Norroy King of Arms, in the year 1530, it is said that 'Malcolyn, Kyng of Scotland, lyeth buried in the said Monastery of Tynmouth, in the Chapiter House.' (41 *Surt. Soc. Publ.* p. 36.)

Matthew Paris, the historian of St. Albans from 1217 to 1257, mentions the following decree of the convent of St. Albans:

'If the Abbat were to go to Tynemouth with 20 men he might stay 15 days at the expense of the Priory; but if the cause of the Abbat's going should be on business of the Brethren he should travel and stay at the cost of the Priory accompanied by certain Feudatories who of right and custom ought to perform the part of Esquires, whom he enfeoffed and appointed for that purpose.'

The same writer gives a very quaint account of the manner of the abbot's journey from St. Albans to Tynemouth:

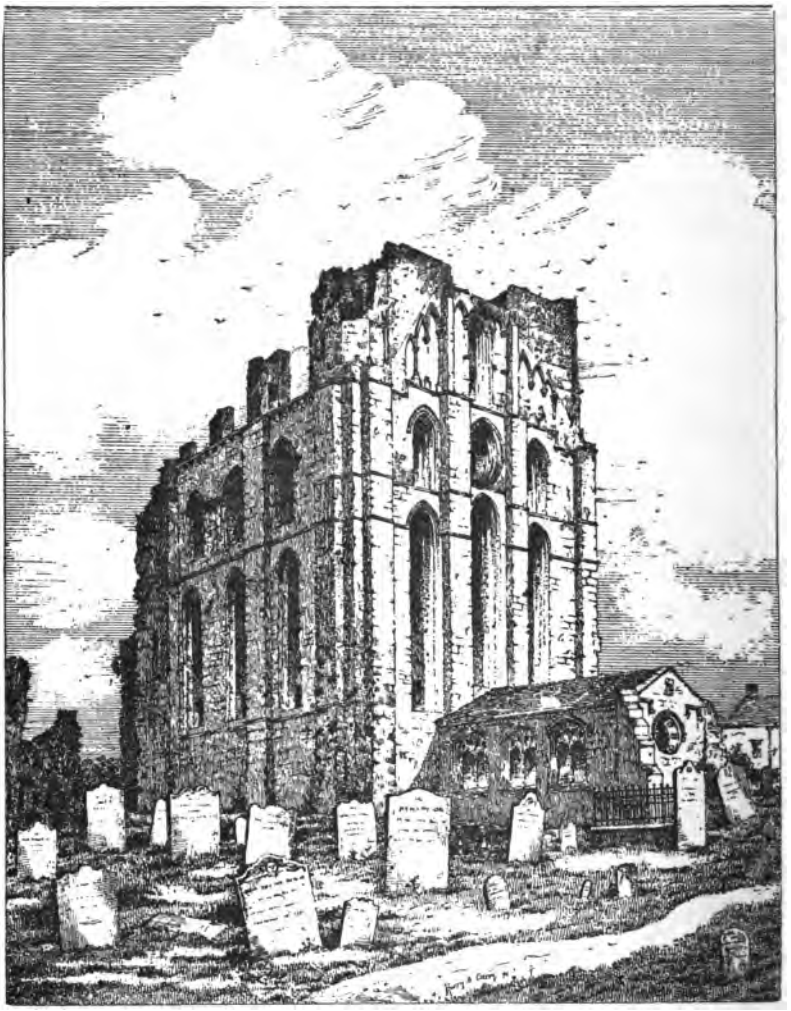
'When the Abbat goes thither he is to be attended by six Esquires who to this effect have extraordinary feofs of the land of the Church. These six shall be at the Abbat's charge both going and coming but upon their own horses, the which shall be sightly and strong enough to carry according to custom, if need be, the habits of a Monk behind each Squire. If any horse belonging to those Squires should happen to dye by the way, the Abbat is to give him ten shillings for his loss. It is to be observed that the Abbat is to ask the King's licence to go to such remote parts of the kingdom and so neare Scotland whensoever he designs to repair to Tynemouth. When arrived there he is to behave himself modestly correcting the family: not to be a tyrant, not squandering the provisions and stores of the house; but considering he is come thither to reform all that requires it and to visit his flock with Fatherly affection.'

The tenants of the prior of Tynemouth, holding lands within the manor, contributed, by the ancient custom on the first visit of a new abbot of St. Albans, forty shillings which was called the 'Abbot's Welcome.'

In 1294,[10] the abbot of St. Albans having heard that the prior of Tynemouth with others wished to render himself independent, went to Tynemouth secretly, and receiving assistance from the mayor of Newcastle was introduced by Henry Scott of Newcastle to the prior, and he was arrested and sent beyond the sea.

The crowning glory of Tynemouth is the beautiful Transitional or Early English choir which was built between 1190 and 1200, of which the east end and part of the south wall are the principal remaining portions. The triple lancet windows are unrivalled. The choir was carried eastward of the transepts of the Norman church one hundred

[10] Gibson's *Monastery of Tynemouth*, vol. ii. p. 32.



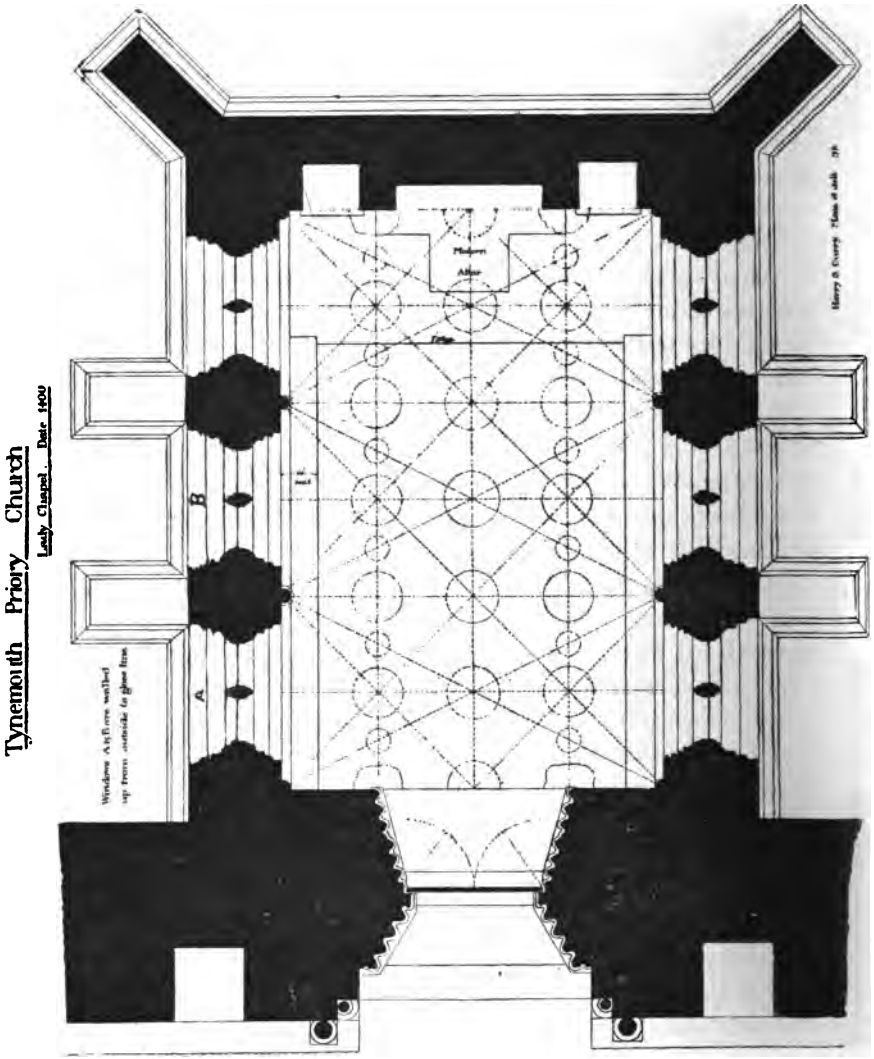
EAST END OF TYNEMOUTH PRIORY FROM THE S.E.

(From a Drawing by Mr. H. S. Curry of Newcastle.)

and fifteen feet and the width of the choir, including the north and south aisles, was sixty-six feet, being much wider than the nave of the Norman church. The whole of the church eastward of the transepts was covered by a groined vaulted roof, having moulded ribs, parts of the springers of which are visible from the string course above the first tier of windows in the southern wall. Over the east end of the church was a room with a window in the upper part of the east gable and large windows at the sides. In an article in the *Builder* of 5th December, 1896, p. 463, it is suggested that this room was for the treasures connected with the shrine of St. Oswald, king and martyr. This should read St. Oswin. Another theory is that the room was intended for a beacon fire to guide ships to the Tyne, but as the fires used in these old beacons were wood or coal fires I think it is extremely unlikely a fire would be placed in such a position as the danger of setting fire to the church would be very great. If a beacon fire were lighted in these early days it is probable a separate tower would be used for the purpose as was done three hundred years ago. The first suggestion is, I think, the more likely one, unless there are other theories as numerous as those about 'low side' windows. In a letter written by the late sir Gilbert Scott about twenty-five years ago he says, 'I have visited and sketched the ruins of the priory church several times and I always think the eastern bays of the choir are the finest specimen I know of the earlier phase of the early pointed style.' At the time the choir was built a stone screen was inserted between the western piers of the tower,[11] and it divided the parochial church from the priory church. In this screen are two low and narrow doorways giving access from the parochial church to the priory church. In the centre of the east wall of the choir is a deeply recessed doorway opening into a small chapel. In the year 1336 there is mentioned in the chartulary of the priory the 'New Chapel' of our Blessed Lady within the priory. This is not the beautiful chapel which is commonly known as the 'Lady chapel,' although it may have stood upon the same site.

The present chapel dates from about 1400 and is Perpendicular in

[11] The Plate facing p. 22 shews the west side of this screen.


Tynemouth Priory Church
Lady Chapel. Date 1400
Modern Altar
Font
A
B

TYNEMOUTH PRIORY. INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL AT THE EAST END OF THE CHOIR.

style. It is eighteen feet ten inches in length and eleven feet four inches in breadth. The richly vaulted roof is unique. It contains fifteen large bosses. Upon the central boss is a representation of the Almighty enthroned in Judgment, his feet resting upon an orb. On each side of the principal figure are two angels. On the rim of the boss is inscribed 'In die judicii libera nos Domine.'

Twelve of the larger bosses contain effigies of the Apostles; the name of each is inscribed on the rim with the invocation 'Ora pro nobis.' Another boss at the eastern extremity of the centre line contains the figure of Our Lord bearing the Cross and Banner, and, kneeling at his feet, Mary Magdalene. On the rim is the inscription 'Rabboni,' 'Noli me tangere.' The boss at the other extremity of the same line contains the figure of St. John the Baptist bearing a lamb. Each of the apostles bears his peculiar symbol. Twelve minor bosses, six on either side of the centre line, contain several devices, among them, on a shield, a fetter-lock within a crescent, a badge of the Percys; a monogram P.L. on a cross, the monogram P.L. repeated on the other side. On the south side of the door, at the west end of the chapel, is a shield bearing the arms of VESCY (*or*, a cross *sable*), and on the north side of it another shield bearing the arms of Percy (quarterly, *or*, a lion rampant *azure*, for the ancient dukes of BRABANT, and *gules*, three lucies *or*, for LUCY). In a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1852, it is stated there were grounds for the belief that the chapel was founded by one of the Percy family. The shield and the monogram P.L. (read as Percy and Lucy), together with the Percy badge of the crescent and fetterlock, the only armorial badge on the roof, seem to offer strong corroboration of this interesting surmise. Over the door is a figure stated to be that of the Virgin Mary, and, kneeling at her feet, is the founder of the chapel; in a drawing in Brand's *History of Newcastle* the figure of the Virgin looks more like that of St. Oswin with the founder of the chapel kneeling at his feet; beneath the figures was an inscription 'St. Oswinus ora.' It is now illegible.

At the four corners of the roof are the emblems of the four evangelists bearing scrolls. In the east wall was a quatrefoil window which was replaced in 1852 by a rose window. Why Mr. John Dobson,

who restored the chapel, did not retain the original design of which there was ample evidence it is difficult to conceive. On each side of the chapel are three windows. These windows were built up by the Ordnance authorities while they had possession of the chapel, when it was used as a receptacle for government stores. In the year 1850 possession of the chapel was given back to the parish of Tynemouth. A subscription was raised and Mr. Dobson of Newcastle was entrusted with the restoration of the building. Successful as a railway station and domestic house architect, he lacked the spirit of the early church builders. He placed a stone altar in the chapel, and opened out four of the windows, in which stained glass was placed by Mr. Wailes of Newcastle. The remaining two windows on the north side had never been pierced and remain so to this day. The vaulting shafts of the roof were carried to the ground as they had been cut off by the string course to make more room for casks while the chapel was in the possession of the Ordnance department—one of many disgraceful acts of vandalism for which government departments are answerable.

Other alterations were made in the interior but happily the beautiful roof was not touched. Some years ago some person with a meretricious love of colour studded the roof with blue and gold which is a great disfigurement to it. At the east end of the chapel on the exterior and above the rose window is the sacred monogram and on either side of it were shields bearing the arms of the abbey of St. Albans and of the priory of Tynemouth, but the arms are no longer discernible.

Mr. E. Ridsdale Tate in 1895 described the priory in the *Builder*, and in speaking of the choir says 'There is a bold simplicity about the exterior which harmonises well with its bleak situation being exposed to the fury of the gales from the North Sea.'

In the fifteenth century monasticism was losing its hold upon the people, the dwellers in the monasteries not having maintained the high ideal of the founders of their orders and laxness in discipline was a growing feature in the system. In addition there was, more or less, a feeling of antagonism between the monastic orders and the parochial or secular clergy. In the early part of the century king Henry V. dissolved one hundred and forty alien priories.

They had always been a source of weakness in the monastic system. The people objected to so much money being collected and sent out of the country for the aggrandisement of foreign monasteries. In 1485 Selborne priory in Hampshire was dissolved by the bishop and prior and the dissolution was confirmed by pope Innocent VIII. The revenues were granted to Magdalen College, Oxford. Towards the close of the century it was difficult to keep up the numbers of the monks in the abbeys and priories and gradually the spirit of the old race of monks was departing. In the next century the end was approaching. In 1528 pope Clement VII. granted king Henry VIII. permission to suppress monasteries to the value of eight thousand ducats, provided there were not six religious in them and that the inmates were placed in other religious houses; and in November in the same year permission was granted by the pope to suppress monasteries where there was not the proper number of monks or nuns (twelve) and to unite them to other religious houses.[12] The manner in which the monasteries were suppressed, in 1536 and 1539, by Henry VIII., is one of the blackest pages in our annals. By their suppression the king gathered a harvest of spoil in the shape of land and plate and jewels such, as a writer says, 'had not fallen to the lot of a king since Alaric, the Goth, sacked Rome.' The chief inquisitors appointed by the king to visit the monasteries were unworthy of credit, and the brutal treatment of the mitred abbots of Reading and Glastonbury has left an undying stain upon the memory of Thomas Cromwell, the too-willing agent of the king. The notes which have come to light, which are in his own handwriting, show the merciless nature of the man. One reads thus: 'Item, the Abbat of Reading to be sent down to be tried and *executed* at Reading with his complices.' Another reads: 'Item, the Abbat of Glaston (Glastonbury) to be tried at Glaston and also *executed* there with his complices.' The venerable abbot of Glastonbury was executed in a most barbarous manner and his head was placed over the abbey in which so many years of his exemplary life had been spent. The lesser monasteries were suppressed in 1536 and the greater ones in 1539. Among the latter was the priory

[12] *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, by F. A. Gasquet, monk of the Order of S. Benedict.

of Tynemouth. The last prior was Robert Blakeney. Before he and his convent surrendered the priory he endeavoured to purchase exemption from the payment of an annuity which the convent was legally bound to pay. His predecessor in office had paid some 200 marks in fees and although the value of the priory had diminished he still professed his willingness to compound with Cromwell for that amount, provided the abbot of St. Albans were made to secure the office to him for life 'by convent seal.' He also desired to escape the payment of an annuity which 'my Lady Mary Carey, now Stafford, had granted to her by my predecessor under convent seal. It was for 100 marks yearly for what cause I know not.' The person addressed is asked, 'To take it into your hands and for your panes as your L^p^ has an annuity from me of 20 nobles, it shall be 20 marks and that not only to yourself but to William your son if it chance him to survive."[13]

On the 12th January, 1539, in the thirtieth year of king Henry VIII., the priory and all its valuable possessions were surrendered to the king. The deed of surrender is signed by the prior, fifteen presbyters, and three novices. The prior retired to Benwell, the summer residence of the priors. In my paper on 'Tynemouth Castle, after the Dissolution of the Monastery,' I have dealt with the subsequent history of it.

Whatever may have been the shortcomings of the abbots, priors, and monks, nothing can justify the brutal manner in which they were treated at the dissolution of the monasteries. The splendid churches which they built, the ruins of which add so much beauty to our land, are imperishable memorials of their work.

In an account of the downfall of the Monastic Order of Black Monks or Benedictines in England is a quotation from W. H. Hart's introduction to the *History of the Monastery at Gloucester*. It, in well chosen language, expresses what was probably the feelings of many of the abbots, priors, and monks as they took leave for ever of the houses which had sheltered them so long. It is as follows: 'Having existed for more than eight hundred years under different forms, in poverty and in wealth, in meanness and in magnificence, in

[13] See *R. O. Crum.* (*Crom.*) Corr. xiv., 63 vol. xlv., No. 37; quoted by Gasquet in his *English Monasteries*.

THE RUINS OF TYNEMOUTH PRIORY FROM THE CASTLE GATEWAY, BEFORE 1852.

(Woodcut lent by Mr. James Hall of Tynemouth.)

misfortune and in success, it finally succumbs to the roya. will ; the day came, and that a drear winter day, when its last mass was sung, its last censer waved, its last congregation bent in lowly adoration before the altar there, and doubtless as the last tones of that day's evensong died away in the vaulted roof, there was not wanting those who lingered in the solemn stillness of the old massive pile. and who, as the lights disappeared one by one, felt that for them there was now a void which could never be filled, because their old abbey, with its beautiful services, its frequent means of grace, its hospitality to strangers, and its loving care for God's poor, had past away like an early morning dream and was gone for ever.'

Benwell, to which the last prior of Tynemouth retired, after passing through the hands of seven or eleven laymen has, in accordance with a supposed tradition, come back to the church through the munificence of Mr. J. W. Pease, and is now the residence of the bishops of Newcastle.

TYNEMOUTH CASTLE.

Robert de Mowbray, who made the gift of the church at Tynemouth to the abbey of St. Albans, fortified the place, and, it is stated, built a castle. He and William Rufus, the Red King, were at feud. He was thrice summoned by the king to appear at his court ; but paid no regard to the summons. The king proceeded north and besieged the castle for two months, when it was taken and apparently dismantled. Mowbray escaped to Bamburgh, but afterwards returned to Tynemouth, where he was, after two days, taken prisoner and conveyed to Durham.[14] He died a monk at St. Albans in 1106. It was important for the protection of the priory at Tynemouth that the fortifications should be maintained. The position was almost inaccessible from the sea, but owing to repeated inroads of the Scots the castle was found to be insecure from the land. In 1296 a licence to the prior and convent to crenellate the castle was granted by king Edward I. while he was at Berwick. The prior of Tynemouth, who was also lord of the manor, exercised the rights of hospitality not only to his over-lord the abbot of St. Albans, but also to the kings of England in their frequent journeys to and from Scotland. In 1293, 1296, 1299,

[14] *History of Northumberland*, vol i., and Bates's *Northumberland*, p. 113.

and 1300, the warrior king, Edward I., was at Tynemouth priory. On the last occasion, he was there with his youthful bride Margaret, the 'Flower of France,' from the 22nd to the 26th June. In 1303 queen Margaret resided at the monastery while king Edward was on his way to Scotland, at the head of his army. In the following year the king was at the priory, and the prior obtained a licence or grant to hold a fair annually on the eve of St. Oswin (20th August) and for thirteen days afterwards, but, in the following year, on the petition of the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle, the grant was revoked. For a long series of years the prior and the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle were at feud. The first great fight between them was in the years 1291-2 and the struggles continued at intervals until the dissolution of the priory. It was taken up in later times by Ralph Gardner of Chirton, the river reformer.

In 1312, king Edward II. was at Tynemouth, and his queen was left there. The king, who was accompanied by his favourite, Piers Gaveston, or Peter de Gaveston, on hearing that his nobles were approaching, fled by sea to Scarborough with his favourite, and left his queen (then unable to travel) at Tynemouth. In 1316 and 1322 the king was again at Tynemouth. In August and September in the latter year queen Isabella remained at the priory. In 1335, king Edward III. was at Tynemouth.

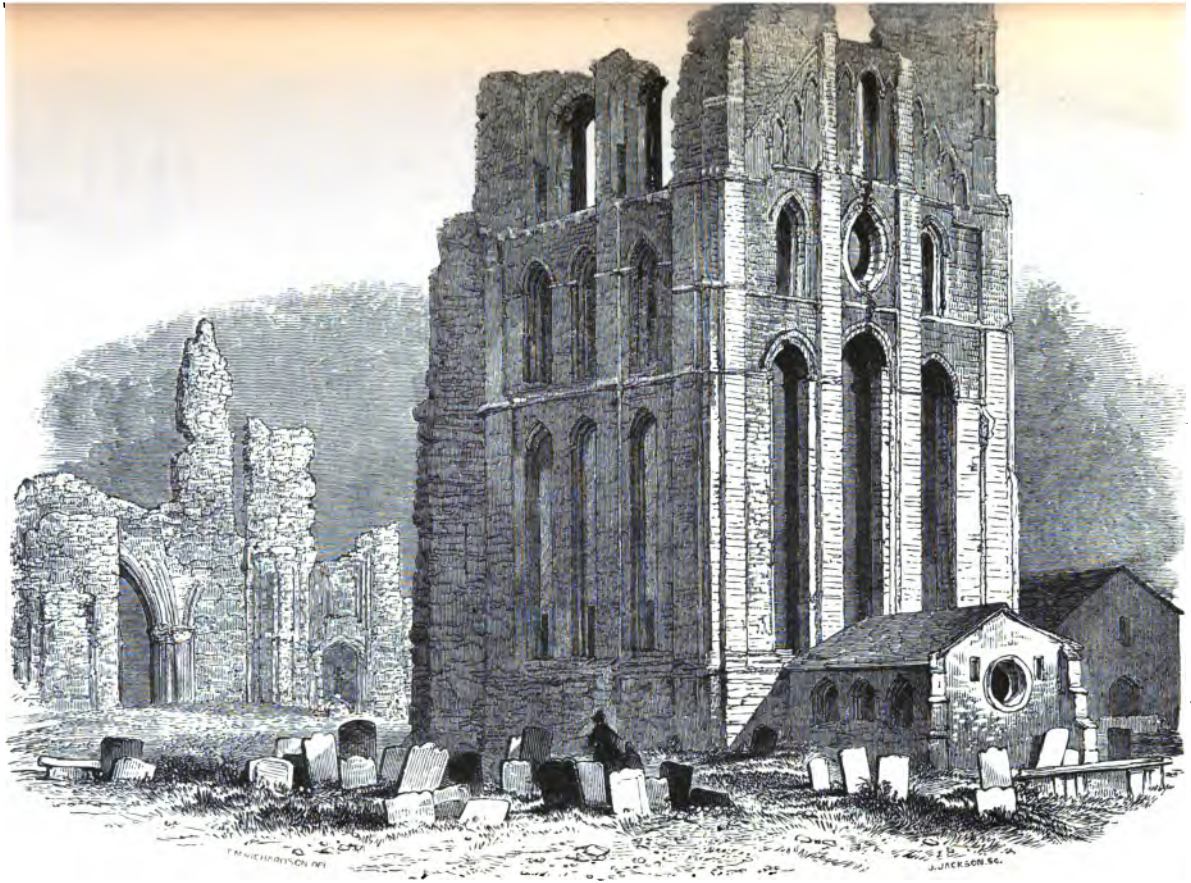
While the kings of England were at the priory they and their queens made offerings of great value at the altar in the priory and at the shrine of St. Oswin. Early in the reign of king Edward II., the prior maintained eighty armed men for the defence of his monastery. There is a tradition that after the battle of Neville's Cross, in October, 1346, Douglas, the Scottish leader, was a prisoner at Tynemouth. In 1380 there was a confirmation by king Richard II. of the charters. It is said the defences of the castle had become weakened by the encroachments of the sea. In 1389, the monastery was plundered by the Scots under the earl of Moray. Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester and youngest son of king Edward III., resided for a few days in the castle in 1391. In August, 1415, Tynemouth castle was stated to be in the care of the prior of Tynemouth (castrum de Tynmouth, priori de Tynmouth).

An inquisition was held at Newcastle in January, 1447, about encroachments by the prior of Tynemouth, and the proceedings give some information about the rising town of North Shields. The jury found that a certain place called North Shields, which erewhile was called *Shields*, was contiguous and adjacent to the Tyne. That for sixty years last past the prior of Tynemouth, having demesne lands of his priory adjoining the said water at a place called North Shields, had added to his lands four acres of land within the ebb and flow of the water, and had newly erected two hundred messuages, and permitted common inns for men and horses, taverns of wine and ale, stalls, shops, booths and shambles for the sale of victuals and other vendable articles to be brought together, and also herring houses and fish houses, and had called that place the town of *North Shields*, where, beyond the water, namely upon its bank there had been of old time only three cottages, called fisher lodges. The rent stated to be received by the prior and his convent amounted to fifteen hundred marks, and it is stated they baked one thousand quarters of wheat in the ovens, and brewed two thousand quarters of malt per annum. The jury found that the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle had sustained an annual loss of £340.[15]

In October, 1462, Margaret of Anjou, queen of king Henry VI., attempted a landing at Tynemouth, but she was repulsed and went to Bamburgh and Dunstanborough. On the 24th July, 1503, princess Margaret, eldest daughter of king Henry VII., was on her way to Scotland to marry king James IV. She was met three miles from Newcastle by the 'prior of Tynemouth well apoynted and in hys company xxx horsys. Hys folks in hys liveray.[16] Under date 1510, is a paragraph there in Bourne's description of Jesmond to the following effect, 'To this village it was that a great number of the people of Newcastle, headed by some of the aldermen and principal men of the town, came, to kill the prior of Tynemouth, in the first year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth.'[17] Mr. Welford adds that the prior's name was John Stonewell, and he had been but recently appointed. Lands

[15] *Newcastle and Gateshead in the 14th and 15th Centuries*, by Richard Welford, p. 317.

[16] *Ibid.* p. 14. [17] *Ibid.* p. 30.



THE RUINS OF TYNEMOUTH PRIORY FROM THE SOUTH EAST BEFORE 1852.
(Woodcut lent by Mr. James Hall of Tynemouth.)

at Jesmond belonged to the monastery, and as the men of Newcastle were always quarrelling with the priors about alleged encroachments upon their privileges, they may have taken the opportunity of Stonewell's visit to his Jesmond property to make a demonstration.

In an interesting document recently communicated to the society by Mr. F. W. Dendy, and printed at p. 263, of the *Proceedings*, vol. ix., is the explanation of the quarrel between the town of Newcastle and the prior. In this document it is alleged among other things, that about five hundred men 'forcibly armed in hernays, with speres, gleyves, bowes & arrows,' by the exhortation of the prior assembled at Tynemouth with great numbers of the inhabitants of Tynedale and Reddesdale to whom as it is supposed the riot was committed. The prior gave wages of vjd per day to the intent that the said persons should murder the mayor, aldermen, and other inhabitants of Newcastle.

On the 9th September, 1513, the battle of Flodden Field, which was so disastrous to the Scots, was fought. The prior of Tynemouth had sent his armed men to the battle, but the account of their behaviour in the battle is not pleasant reading; at the first boom of the Scottish cannon the men of Tynemouth and Bamboroughshire, in the wing of the rearguard that lord Dacre was bringing up to support Edmund Howard, son of Thomas Howard the lord Admiral, took to their heels. Edmund's Cheshire followers, already half mutinous at not being led by a Stanley, and cowed by the fall of the heroic sir Brian Tunstall, followed their example. This stampede it is understood largely contributed to the success of the battle, as it caused king James to leave his vantage ground and charge madly down the hillside with the Scottish centre who were mercilessly raked by the English artillery.

The castle did not possess a keep but consisted merely of the gateway, which until 1783 presented an imposing appearance. In that year the upper portion of the gateway, with the picturesque turrets at its corners, was removed, and the unsightly structure which now presents itself was built over the old archway. In my paper on the Castle is an illustration of the gateway as it existed before the War Office laid its heavy hand upon it.

PAROCHIAL CHURCH.

When the Transitional or Early English addition was made to the priory church and it was carried eastward, as already described, it was also carried westward to the extent of forty feet. The deeply recessed west doorway which meets the eyes of the visitor as he approaches the ruins, after passing through the entrance to the castle, was then inserted. The screen separating the priory church from what was to become the parish church was also inserted but not bonded. The length of the parish church was one hundred and twenty-six feet, and the breadth forty-six feet six inches. As was too often the case disputes arose between the bishop of Durham and the prior of Tynemouth as to the rights of the former with respect to the parochial church. In 1247 the bishop claimed the right to visit in his episcopal character the parish church of Tynemouth, and the dispute was settled that the bishop should exercise the office as visitor of the parish church, but he was not to interfere with the conventual church. The vicars of the church of Tynemouth were to be appointed by the prior and convent with the assent of the abbot of St. Albans, and to be presented to the bishop for institution. The great tithes were, as usual, received by the prior and convent.

Among the vicars of Tynemouth was John of Tynemouth, a native of the place, and an eminent writer. He afterwards became a monk of St. Albans and dedicated his great work, the *Sanctilogium Britanniae*, to Abbot de la Mare of St. Albans. The latter became abbot in 1349 and died in 1396. The church at Tynemouth continued to be used until the time of Oliver Cromwell, when the castle was taken by the Scots. After the restoration the church was used for a short time, until the consecration of Christ Church at North Shields in 1668, after which it crumbled into ruins.

HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARDS.

Annexed to the priory was the hospital of St. Leonards, which was placed in a secluded and well-sheltered spot at the Spital dene. The site of the hospital is now enclosed in the Northumberland park—a place of sylvan beauty; but little frequented by visitors to Tynemouth. The hospital is first mentioned in the year 1320.[17]

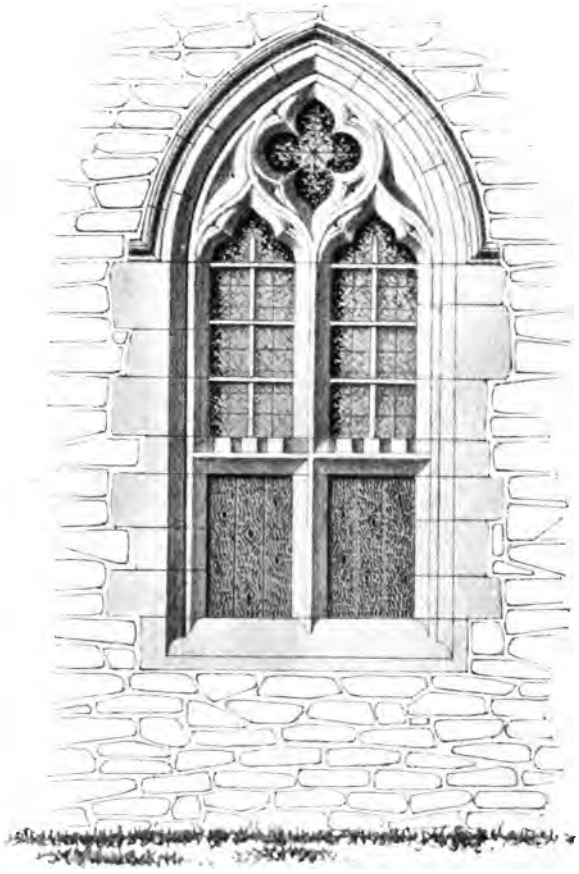
[17] See *Proc.* iii. 35, for Mr. Adamson's account of the hospital.

In forming the park, about the year 1885, two stone coffins and a medieval grave cover were dug up, and also a tiled pavement, but this was again covered up.

PLANS OF THE PRIORY.

The earliest plan of the priory, of which I am aware, is one of the time of queen Elizabeth.[18] The priory church and the monastic and other buildings are shewn. In Fryer's map of the Tyne, published in 1773, the church has three windows on its south side. In a drawing made by Waters in 1786 five bays are shown westward of the three windows—these bays are also shown in Bucks' crude and inaccurate drawing of the monastery published in 1728. In Vivares's drawing, published in 1747, the five bays are not shewn. It is difficult to reconcile these drawings. The drawing by Waters was taken from a painting by his father, Ralph Waters. The son was born in 1750. It is probable the father's drawing was made when he was quite young, and before so much of the ruins had fallen down. It is improbable that the drawing could have been made except from the building as it stood, or perhaps it was copied from that of the brothers Buck, which it greatly resembles. There is a ground plan from actual survey by Dobson, but in this the apse of the Norman church is incorrectly shewn. Some years ago, Mr. R. J. Johnson, carried out some excavations and discovered the foundations of the apse much farther eastward than shewn in Dobson's plan. The actual position is shewn on the ground plan prepared by Mr. E. Ridsdale Tate for the *Builder* in 1895. In a plan prepared by sir Gilbert Scott in 1876, the position of the foundations of the Norman pier at the north-east angle of the nave are incorrectly shewn. He made drawings for the restoration of the choir of the priory church, but beyond the preparation of these drawings nothing was done, nor is it likely the priory will ever be restored. The War department is rapidly curtailing the space around the ruins. For the last thirty-five years the authorities have been constructing batteries, taking them down and reconstructing them, and at present they are erecting batteries for heavy guns. The lighthouse, after an existence of nearly three hundred years, is a thing of the past, and upon its site are being constructed batteries which it is hoped will never be required for the defence of the Tyne.

[18] See *Arch. Ael.* xviii. 76.



LOW SIDE WINDOW, CROSBY GARRET, WESTMORLAND.

IV.—ON 'LOW SIDE WINDOWS.'

By the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, M.A., vicar of Witton-le-Wear.

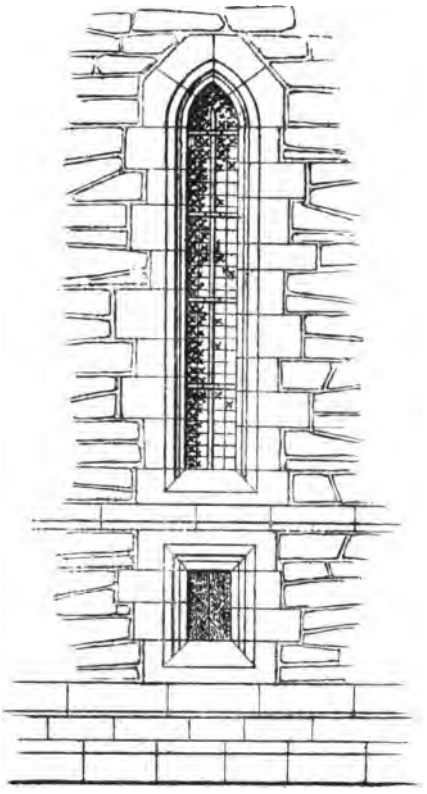
[Read on the 25th of July, 1900.]

Chapter I.

CLASSIFICATION, AND VARIOUS THEORIES AS TO THEIR USE AND ORIGIN.

Of all the questions which have exercised the ingenuity of archaeologists during the last half century and more, none has, probably, elicited fewer approximately satisfactory replies, or still remains so thoroughly 'open' as that relating to the true use and purpose of what are commonly called 'low side windows.' Preposterous as the definition—whether invented by the late Mr. J. H. Parker, or only brought into general use by him—may be, it has now become so far convenient that, however exceptionable, everyone knows exactly what is meant by it. And hence, probably, the hold which it still retains, both in writing and conversation. Save on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, however, it would tax the skill of a very ingenious person to devise one more thoroughly misleading. For, in the first place, though these apertures are often, perhaps generally, low, they are by no means always so, being often, on the contrary, high; then, secondly, though they are most frequently found on the sides, they yet occur also at the ends, of churches; and, thirdly, though frequently combined with, they are, strictly speaking, never, under any circumstances, windows at all. Yet here, as elsewhere, it is easier to criticize than to perform, and when it comes to supplying a scientifically accurate definition, the difficulty of doing so becomes speedily apparent. For, indeed, they vary so greatly, and in so many ways, that one which should be at the same time both accurate and universally applicable, would be little, if at all, short of impossible. Roughly, they may, perhaps, be classified under the following heads, viz.:—I.—Those which are either built or inserted, for one purpose only and none other, as at North Hinksey, Berkshire, and Salford Priors, Warwickshire (see next page). These are commonly

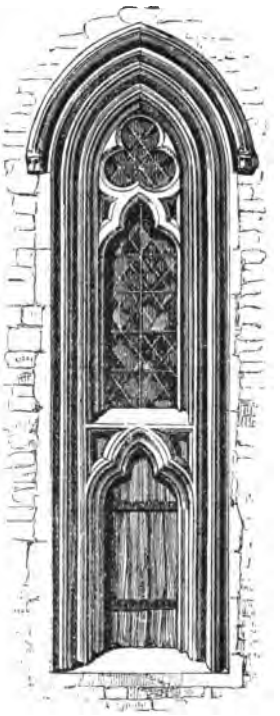
square, or arch-headed openings of small dimensions, say from a foot by six inches, to three feet by one foot, wide and high, set quite apart, and for the most part below, the level of the windows proper. II.—Those which are combined with a window opening, in the same detached and separate way, having the lower part only fitted for a door or a shutter, while the upper part, whether provided with a stone transom or not, is glazed, as at Somerton, Oxfordshire. III. — Those which, forming part of the regular series of fenestration, have the lower part of the light divided by a transom with, or without, an arched head, and provided with a shutter, as at Raydon, Suffolk,* and Wensley, Yorkshire.† IV. — Those in which two or more narrow slits or openings are found close together, like panes in a lantern, and cut through a small stone slab, as at Weekly church, Northamptonshire, and Landewednack, Cornwall. V.—Those which are combined with windows proper, of two or more lights, by having the western one divided in its lower part by a transom, or by having it brought down below the proper level of the sill, as at Othery, Somersetshire,‡ and Downton, Wiltshire, respectively. VI.—Those



SALFORD PRIORS CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.

* See next page. † See page 46. ‡ See page 47.

which, save for some special difference of size, or design, or level, have, at the present time at least, little or nothing to distinguish them from other windows, being glazed throughout, as at Jarrow* and Winston, co. Durham; Flintham, Notts.†; and Lancing and Patcham churches, Sussex. VII.—Those which, though connected through apposition with a window, form really no part of it; and are clearly designed to serve a wholly different purpose, as at Barnard Castle church, co. Durham, and Berkeley, Gloucestershire.‡ VIII. — Those of two or more lights, whose sills, set at a much lower level than the rest, have a transom carried uniformly through the lower parts of all of them, beneath which the openings are, or till lately were, usually, though not always, found blocked, as at Beckford, Gloucestershire; Harwell and Uffington churches, Berkshire; Ardley, Garsington, and Checkendon, Oxfordshire; as well as Crosby Garret, Westmorland (see plate III.), and Goldsborough, Yorkshire, respectively; in the last two of which both of the lower openings were provided with shutters, whether glazed or otherwise.



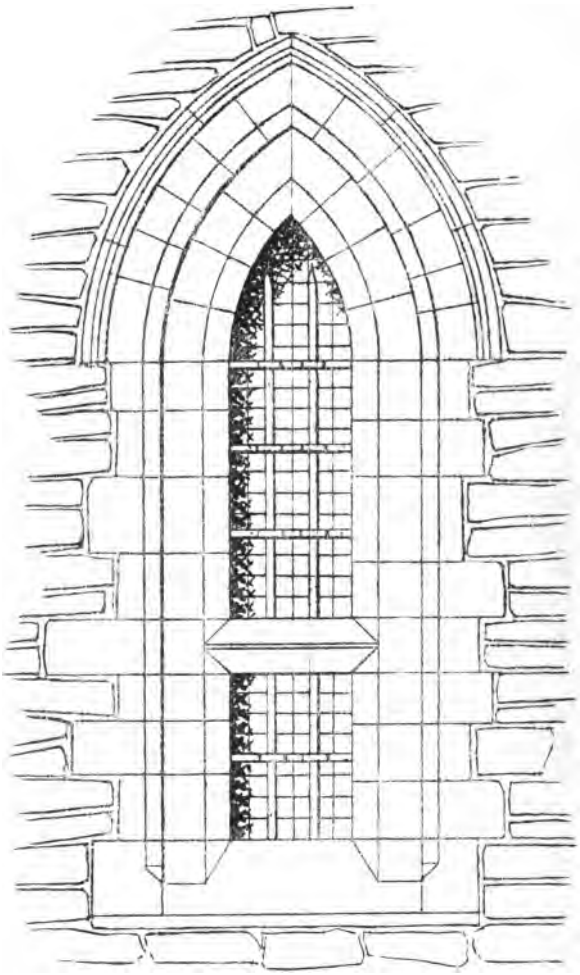
RAYDON, SUFFOLK
(see preceding page.)

And now, following directly upon such attempted classification of these apertures, the question presents itself:— For what definite and special purpose were they devised? As to any secondary uses to which they might in some cases, perhaps, be occasionally applied, we need not trouble to enquire, as being quite irrelevant, and leaving the real subject practically untouched.

Of the wildly fantastic theories from time to time put forth by way of answer, there has been simply, as in the making of many books,

* See page 58. † See page 48. ‡ See page 49.

no end. That they should, one and all, have been purely speculative and imaginary, is due to the fact that we have, unhappily, not only

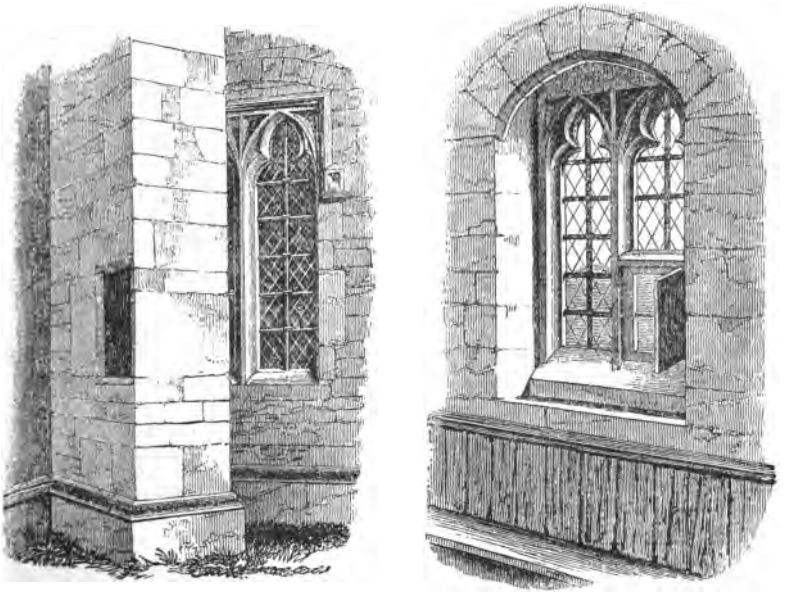


WENSLEY, YORKSHIRE (see page 44).

no historical evidence on the subject whatever, but no lingering remnants of tradition to serve as guides—even blind ones. And thus

the sole effect of such few, poor, faint scraps of seeming reference to them as have now and then turned up, has been either to start, or strengthen, some new, or already existing speculation, as really unfounded, as impossible. Among the several titles and uses ascribed to them are:—

I.—'Lychnoscopes.'—For a long time this favourite term held a very first and foremost place. Pseudo-ecclesiologists, indeed, may be said to have fairly revelled in it. The name was bestowed with the

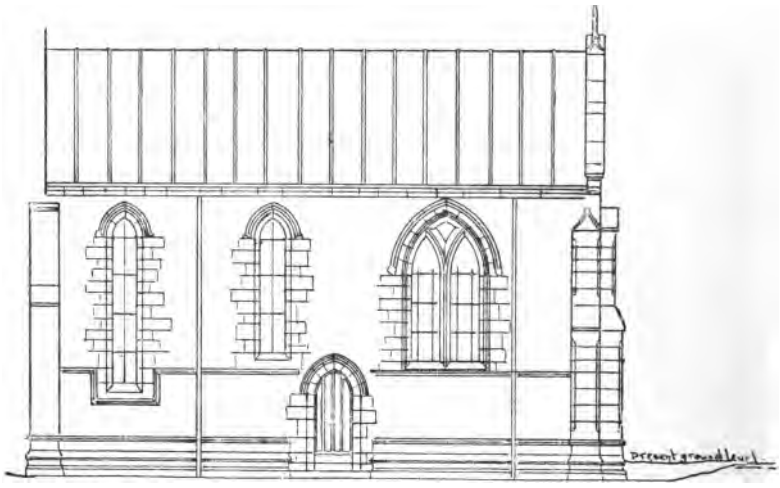


OTHERY, SOMERSETSHIRE (see page 44).

idea that they were designed to command a view of the light burning before the high altar. To apply such a simple test as that of experiment to their theory, however, would seem never to have occurred to its authors, for out of the countless numbers I have myself examined, I cannot—though such exceptional instances may, perhaps, here and there exist—call to mind a single instance in which anyone unprovided with a neck, at least as long and flexible as that

of a swan, could succeed in doing so. And then, even if they could, why such rampantly eccentric curiosity should exist and be encouraged, when those concerned could far more easily have gone inside the church to see, was unexplained. So the day of lychnoscopes, though for long, even yet, perhaps, in some quarters, enjoying a sort of twilight, or after-glow existence, ceased and determined.

II.—'Hagioscopes.'—This too, enjoyed an equally enthusiastic, though transient reputation. Instead of watching the light, a vast class of people of whose existence history knows nothing, was

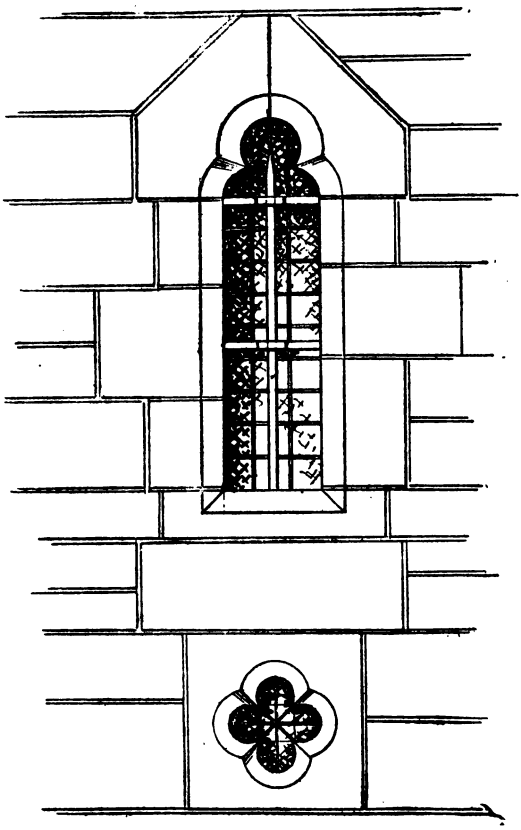


FLINTHAM, NOTTS (see page 45).

supposed to be everywhere anxious to see the elevation of the Host from the outside, instead of the inside, of the church, whose doors were open to them, and whence they could far more effectually have attained their desire. But there was a good deal in a name, which, at once mystical and euphonious, was not only fascinating, but seemed to imply recondite learning on the part of those who used it. And then, were it false, it was, perhaps, just as true as any other.

III.—'Vulne windows.'—This term—whether originating with the now long extinct Cambridge Camden Society or not, I cannot say—would seem, among all others, to cap the climax of absurdity.

It was imagined that these openings, which are most frequently found in the south-west corners of chancels, were made, not for any practical use whatever, but only to represent in a way—certainly 'not understanded of the people' generally—the wound in our Lord's



BERKELEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE (see page 45).

side, and, for a while, they were regarded with a due amount of ignorant, if sympathetic, awe. But, apart from the sheer lunacy of such a notion, the position was wholly misplaced, since in any church, whether cruciform or not, the head would, proportionately, occupy

that position,[1] while the place of the spear-wound would be found some quarter way westwards down the nave. So, after a brief stay, the 'vulne' theory, smothered with ridicule, disappeared.

IV.—Then the term 'leper windows,' which 'caught on' with amazing tenacity, was evolved, as is thought, from the inner consciousness of the late Dr. Rock. But such a conjecture, it is clear, must have rested on an exceedingly slight and imperfect acquaintance with the subject, since in untold numbers of cases, the administration of the Holy Eucharist through such apertures must have been, to say the least, extremely unbecoming and difficult, while in others it would have been physically impossible.[2] Add to this the further considerations, viz., that there is simply no record of such a use ever having obtained; that lepers were so much as admitted within the precincts of the churchyard;[3] and that leper houses and hospitals

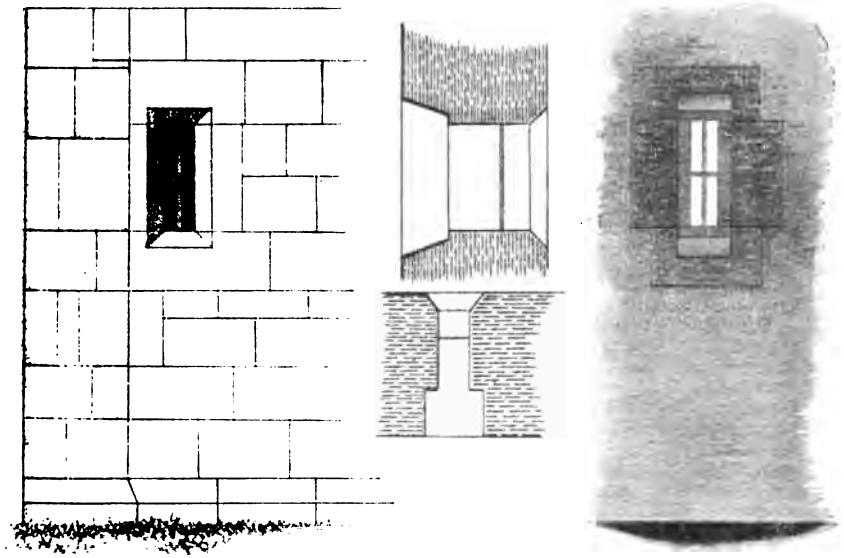
[1] 'Dispositio autem ecclesiae materialis, modum humani corporis tenet. Cancellus namque sive locus ubi altare est, caput representat: & Crux ex utraque parte brachia & manus: reliqua pars ab occidente, quicquid corpori superesse videtur.'—*Rationale Divinorum Officiorum A.R.D. Gulielmo Durando Mimatensi Episcopo. Venetiis, Apud Grátiosum Perchacinum, 1568. Lib. I. cap.* I. p. 4 *dorso.*

[2] There are two classes of these so-called windows to which the above expressions apply. First, those which are on, or all but on, the level of the ground; and secondly, those which are so far above it as to render the 'manual acts' of giving and receiving quite impracticable. Of the first class we have several local examples, as at S. Martin's, Micklegate, and S. Cuthbert's, Peasholme Green, York (see page 54); Elwick Hall, and Redmarshall, co. Durham; and Middleham in the North Riding, where there are two, one at each end of the high altar, and the sills of which, if there were but a single step of six inches to the altar platform above the floor of the nave, would be on a level with it; and, in the case of two such steps, as most usually happened, six inches *below* the upper one—arrangements which, one and all, render the idea of communicating absurd.

Of the second, without taking account of 'high side windows,' but with reference to such only as are placed at a moderate height, we find interesting examples at Goldsborough, near York, where the sill of the window, set in a wall nearly three feet thick, is five feet seven inches above the surface; at Winston church, co. Durham, where the two windows, south and north, in walls of the like thickness, are nine feet nine inches, and eight feet six inches above it respectively, and at Raydon church, Suffolk (see page 45), where the height, though a trifle less, is nearly the same.

[3] 'Houses for lepers,' says Mr. T. I. Pettigrew, 'were evidently framed on the ideas of infection, and the necessity which therefore existed of separating the diseased from the healthy.' And so we find Edward III., in the twentieth year of his reign, commanding that all leprous persons in the city of London 'should avoid within fifteen days next,' that 'no man should suffer such to abide within his house,' and that the said lepers 'should be removed into some out places of the fields from the haunt and company of sound people.' But, though the regulations respecting them varied in different parts, and at different times, they were in no case, it would seem, so severe as in Scotland. In the Greenside

were not only scattered abundantly all over the land (Dugdale, when the whole population fell far short of that of London at the present day, giving an *imperfect* list of no fewer than one hundred and



ACASTER MALBIS, YORKSHIRE (see next page).

twenty-three), but quite near to, as well as actually within, the parishes where such openings are found. Such, among other

hospital, at Edinburgh, they were not permitted to quit the house, under penalty of death, and a gibbet was erected in front of the hospital to show that this was no idle threat. In other places they were, however. allowed to wander about, but only with rattles and clappers, so as to attract attention to their wants, which could then be relieved without incurring contact. Subject to perpetual seclusion, they were deprived of all rights under the civil law, and looked upon as virtually dead—*tanquam mortuus habetur*. The church also, as Dr. Simpson shows, regarded the leper as defunct, and performed the service for the burial of the dead over him when, on the day of his separation from his fellow-creatures, he was consigned to a leper house. In France, the mass for the dead was said over him. Before leaving the leper, the priest interdicted him from appearing in public without his leper's garb; from entering inns, churches, mills, and bakehouses, from touching anything in the markets except with a stick; from eating and drinking with any others than lepers; and specially forbade him from walking in narrow paths, or from answering those who spoke to him except in a whisper, so that they might not be contaminated by his pestilential breath. The Sarum use also, among ourselves, formally prohibited lepers from resorting to any places where they might meet their fellows, and excluded them from even burial in the churchyards.

illustrations, may be seen at Acaster Malbis (see page 51), about five miles from York, where in the small cruciform church, standing all alone in the fields, there are two contemporary ones, exactly opposite each other in the chancel, notwithstanding the fact that in the city there were no fewer than four leper hospitals. And then, in York itself, although so many of the churches there—only about half the original number—are but mere fragments of their former selves, chancels without naves, and naves without chancels, and that the rest have been so cruelly knocked about and destroyed as to render their witness exceedingly fragmentary,[4] a diligent search has disclosed to me no fewer than five still surviving illustrations.[5]

[4] In the city of York there were at the time of the dissolution of religious houses, no fewer than forty-one parish churches, besides seventeen chapels, of which last two only are left. Of the churches, no fewer than twenty have been wholly destroyed; while many of the remainder, fallen into varying stages of squalor and decay, have been miserably mutilated and curtailed. Thus, of those still standing, All Saints', Pavement, had its chancel destroyed in 1782, in order to enlarge the market-place; the fine priory church of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, having, at an earlier date, suffered the loss of its choir, transepts, nave aisles, and central, and south-western towers. S. Helen's, Stonegate, has had the ends of its aisles cut off to widen the pavement; while S. Michael's, Spurriergate, originally one of the finest of all, has had its beautiful Transitional nave and aisles very largely pulled down for a like purpose. S. Olave's, Marygate, which was greatly injured during the Civil Wars, and extensively rebuilt in 1722, has lost much of its ancient character; as has also S. Lawrence, without Walmgate Bar, which, wholly ruined at the same time, and in part patched up in 1699, is now but a mere fragment. Of S. Denys, Walmgate, only the chancel with its aisles, and a rich Norman doorway, removed from the nave, are left; the latter, together with the original tower and spire, having been pulled down in 1798. Besides all which, the church of Holy Trinity, King's Court, commonly known as Christ Church, in addition to having its northern chapel destroyed, suffered the loss of all the eastern parts of the chancel in 1830, in order to widen Colliergate.

Of the two chapels, viz.: those of the Merchants' Hall, and Holy Trinity, Bederne, the latter, a singularly interesting fourteenth century building, to the east of the Minster, has had all its external windows built up, and is now used only for churchings and christenings; S. Mary Bishophill Senior, and Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, being abandoned altogether, and having service said in them but once a year.

Most infamous of all the ravage and spoliation that has befallen the city churches, however, has been the wanton destruction of S. Crux, beyond comparison the finest of them all—quite unique, indeed, in the scientific skill and beauty of its details, and this but a few years since, under pressure of archbishop Thomson, *and during the incumbency of the then secretary of the Surtees Society*, the late Canon Raine.

What further evidence this multitude of destroyed and mutilated churches might have yielded in respect of 'low side windows,' cannot now, of course, be said.

[5] Of these, two are to be found in the church of S. Cuthbert, Peasholme Green; one on the south side of the chancel, and the other at the east end, towards the north—the latter on, the former (see page 54), which cuts into the base-mould,

At Atcham church, near Shrewsbury, there are also two at the east end of the chancel, although there was a leper hospital only three miles off. At Mitton church, Lancashire, where another so-called 'leper window' occurs, there was a leper hospital in the parish itself; while at St. Stephen's church, St. Albans, where there is said to be another, the leper hospital of St. Julian was within a distance of five hundred yards. Nor is that all. To accept a theory like this, is to presuppose the existence of shoals of lepers drifting perpetually, not only along all the high roads, but also the obscurest by-roads of the country day by day; and, as though that were not enough, besieging all the parish churches as they passed, and clamouring to be communicated. Even the 'Ages of Faith' can scarcely, one would think, be credited with achieving such results as this.

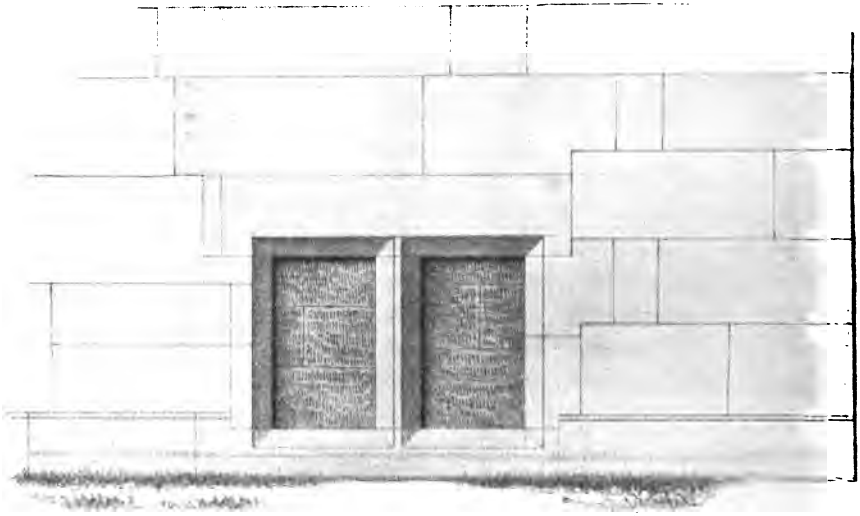
V.—'For excommunicated persons to do penance at, previous to their being readmitted into the church,' an equally preposterous and unhistoric 'use.'

VI.—'Offertory windows.' A term applied to them by Mr. Paley, of 'Manual' fame, through an entire misapprehension of a passage in Martene (lib. i., cap. iv., art. vi., sect. vii.), which applies, not to the church at all, but to the cells of anchorites, each of whom *per fenestram ejusdem oratorii possit ad missas per manus sacerdotis*

all but on, the level of the ground. A third, of two large trefoliated ogee-headed lights—the sill of which must be at some little depth below the present surface, for I could not reach even the top of it—is on the north side of the chancel of the church of S. Martin, Micklegate. Both here and at S. Cuthbert's, the late Mr. J. H. Parker, in a highly characteristic way, ascribes the use of these windows to the lighting of purely imaginary and non-existent crypts! The fourth example—which has been so scrupulously walled up as to be almost obliterated—is immediately above the basement, on the south side of the chancel of S. Margaret's, Walmgate; while the fifth, which cuts through the upper base mould altogether, occurs directly westwards of the south porch of S. Mary's, Castlegate. Besides these, there exists, although in a 'restored' state, a square-headed window of three lights at the west end of the north aisle of S. Saviour's, beneath the sill of the west window proper; as well as one of five lights, in a similar position, beneath that of the north aisle of S. Mary's, Castlegate, the north-west angle of which has portions of projecting masonry indicating, apparently, the existence of a former portico, since a blocked doorway remains between the south end of the window and the respond of the north arcade. What the precise use of these two windows may have been, whether that of the class under consideration or not, seems doubtful. At Wighton church, Norfolk, there were no fewer than five such distinct windows at the east end of the chancel, under a lean-to, which was, however, ruinous so far back as 1847.

oblationes offerre. As may well be supposed, this blunder expired in its infancy.

VII.—'For acolytes to pass the thurible through,' so as to obtain a greater degree of heat before the incense was applied. But, besides there being no directions found in any ancient office for such a practice, the window openings in question were commonly so ill adapted to it, as to render all attempts that way practically impossible.



ST. CUTHBERT, PEASHOLME GREEN, YORK (see page 52, note 5).

VIII.—'To enable a watcher to discern the approach of the priest, and then ring the sanctus bell to announce it to the people.' But comparatively few churches had sanctus bell-cots;[6] nor is there any authority for supposing those bells to have been ever rung for such a purpose. Besides which there is hardly one of these lateral openings anywhere which could possibly have been utilized in that way. This idiotic notion, naturally, never took much hold.

[6] In the county of Durham there were, I think—so far as existing remains shew—but two examples of such sanctus bell-cots, viz.: those of Billingham and of Brancepeth.

IX.—'For the distribution of alms.' But, here again, besides there being no record of any such practice anywhere; or of alms to be distributed in the places where such openings exist; though some of them would, doubtless, be suitable enough for that purpose, vast numbers would be wholly unsuitable, being either much too high, or too low, for it.

X.—'To give light to the reader of the Lessons.' This was the idea of the late M. Viollet le Duc, led away by the circumstance of there being in the Sainte Chapelle, at Paris, a little window glazed with white glass, which was set low down, and, when not in use for that purpose, closed with a wooden shutter. But the resemblance was purely accidental, and on the surface only. The use of this particular window was, no doubt, that which the very distinguished architect attributed to it, and which was precisely that of such as are found in the monastic refectory[7] pulpits, as also in that well known instance (which has puzzled so many), at prior Crauden's chapel at Ely, viz., throwing light upon the reader's book from behind. Such, however, it is clear, was not the case with these variously placed, and multiform openings of ours, which, for the most part, neither did, nor could, serve any such end at all. This view, therefore, also fled swiftly 'like a shadow that departeth.'

XI.—'Ventilation.' That they might occasionally be used, to

[7] Owing to the wholesale destruction of our ancient monastic buildings these pulpits are very rarely to be met with nowadays. The remains of a very fine one of late thirteenth, or early fourteenth century date, may be seen, however, in the ruins of the magnificent refectory of Easby abbey, near Richmond; of another, very slightly later, in the fratry of Walsingham priory, Norfolk; and a very early one, of the close of the twelfth century, in that of Lilleshall priory, Salop. One of the earliest and finest of all, however, is that of highly enriched Early English character, in the parish church of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, originally the refectory of the Cistercian abbey there; another, of much the same period, remaining in what was once the refectory of the abbey of S. Werburgh, at Chester. This last, with its entrance doorway, arcaded staircase, and projecting pulpit, is wonderfully well preserved, its window being merely blocked. A little later, of pure decorated work, is that at Carlisle, happily quite perfect. The late Mr. Billings, who gives an admirable view of it in his Carlisle cathedral—following the common Protestant hallucinations of his day—imagined it, as almost all inexplicable things were then imagined to be, a 'confessional,' and, consequently, introduced the figures of a shaven monk, seated in the upper part, while a 'veiled lady' on her knees, 'said,' or shouted, as best she could, 'her say' from the floor below. Ludicrous as the idea is, it is yet as sane common sense, compared with that theory of these apertures, propounded further on, for both were, at least, *inside*, and under cover.

some extent, for this purpose, would seem likely enough. Indeed, one can hardly doubt but that, in many instances, they were. The very curious little aperture at Berkeley church, Gloucestershire,* helps to do this so admirably in connexion with the south door (it occurs in the north-west chapel of the chancel), that the vicar thinks it can have been designed with no other object. That, however, cannot have been the case elsewhere, any more than there really, indeed, and so does not touch the primary reason for their introduction in the least. Owing, possibly, to its entire lack of romance, as well as for more efficient reasons, the ventilation theory, too, went duly the way of all the rest.

XII.—'For the exposition of relics.' This might seem almost as impossibly ridiculous as the 'vulne' theory. Where the relics were to come from, and whence the crowds of credulous folk so anxious to see them, that, even in remote country churches, a single window would not suffice for the purpose, was not so much as hinted at. Neither the self-evident circumstance that they could be so much more conveniently and reverently exposed to the veneration of the faithful, with the necessary accompaniment of lighted candles, when assembled inside the church, than standing, one or two at a time, outside in the churchyard; and thence, either mounted on a ladder, or lying prone upon the ground, peeping at them through a thick stone wall. This fiction also died a natural, and deservedly speedy, death.

XIII.—'For the ringing of the hand-bell through, at the elevation of the host.' Here, at length, we emerge from the dreary region of wild and untempered imagination, into one of comparative reason and common sense. In defence of this theory has been quoted the following from the 'Constitutions' of archbishop Peckham, 1281: 'In elevatione vero ipsius corporis Domini pulsetur campana in uno latere, ut populares, quibus celebrationi missarum non vacat quod idie interesse, ubicunque fuerint, seu in agris, seu in domibus flectant genua.' But, the very quotation, it will be seen, carries the refutation of the theory it is advanced to prove, along with it. When we bear in mind the diameter of many of these openings; the close proximity of so many of them to the ground; the fact that great numbers of them are still

* See page 49.

fenced with their original stone or iron grilles, through which it would be simply impossible to pass a bell of any audible size whatever; the application of the injunction to these windows, as a class, is seen at once to be quite out of the question. At Berkeley church, for instance, the window*—a little quatrefoil, only seven inches diameter in the full, is, from point to point of the cross, through which the bell would have to pass, no more than three inches wide. Moreover, as the vicar writes, 'a tall man standing on a chair,' would not be able to do so, even if the width of the aperture permitted such an act. So too at Llandewednack, and Weekley churches, where there are two narrow lights, some four inches wide, by about eight high, pierced through thin slabs of stone; and at Atcham, Shropshire, where there are two single square-headed lights, only seven inches high, and three inches wide, at either end of the high altar. But, narrow as these are, they are, nevertheless, twice as wide as those at Acaster Malbis,[8] near York, where the iron grille, which still remains perfect, reduces the passage-way to just about *an inch and a half!* † It has been urged, however, with regard to the impediment offered to the transmission of sound by the iron grilles so commonly met with, as at Ludlow and Downton among others, that it amounts to no more than that caused

[8] The little church of Acaster Malbis, as well in structure as in situation, is of very exceptional interest. Set a little back from the north bank of the Ouse, some five miles below York, it stands quite alone in the midst of fields, apart from all human habitation. It is of one date throughout, *c.* 1330-40, aisleless, nearly an exact Greek cross on plan, sixty-nine feet three inches, by sixty-one feet, and with a wooden spired bell-cot at the intersection of the high-pitched roofs. All its windows are square-headed, the western one of five, the eastern of seven, and all the rest of three, very narrow, ogee-topped, trefoliated lights, only eight inches wide, and with the remarkable peculiarity of being recessed from the outside, and having their mullions flush with the inside surfaces of the walls. Two very fine effigies of the founder, and, presumably, his son, are preserved within; and there are some good, and considerable, remains of contemporary glass in well nigh perfect condition, across the entire centre of the east window.

Inside the porch, which is towards the south, hangs the following framed and glazed notice :—

✠ The memory of the Just is Blessed.

John Sharp, Archbishop of York, A.D., 1691 to 1713.

'The parish church of Acaster is within a little mile of the Archbishop's palace. It stands by itself in the fields. Thither he frequently retired alone and made the little porch of that church his Oratory, where he solemnly addressed and praised God. And here it was that, for some years, he resorted as he had opportunity, to perform his Thursday thanksgivings.'—Newcome's *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, v. ii. p. 78.

* See page 49. † See page 51.

by the luffer-boards in belfry windows—quite regardless of the difference between a great church bell hung high up in a tower with large windows, often double ones, on all sides, and a little tinkling handbell inside the church, and rung within an opening often but a

JARROW, CO. DURHAM.

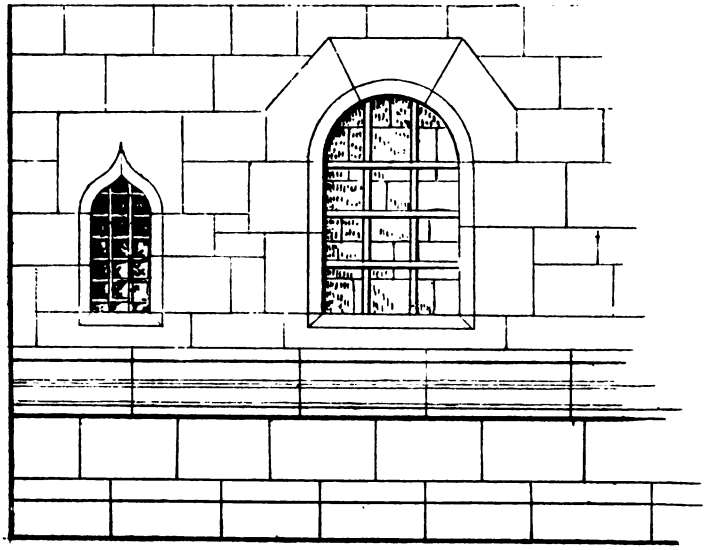
few inches in diameter, and, times out of number, near, if not all but actually upon, the surface of the ground. That they could not have been used for this purpose for the sake of convenience in being situate generally, near the high altar, is also further shown by the fact that in very many cases these openings are found in connexion with

both sanctus bell-cots and central towers, of dates contemporary with, or earlier than their own, as at Ludham, Norfolk; Uffington, Berkshire; Beckford, Boxwell, and Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire; Bucknell, Oxfordshire; Jarrow, co. Durham; St. Lawrence, Ludlow, Salop; and Acaster Malbis, Yorkshire; which would render their introduction, under such conditions, utterly absurd, since the rope of the church bell proper would be within arm's length, and its use infinitely more effectual for the purpose.[9] And this consideration brings us at once to a further, and possibly still more cogent argument against the adoption of this otherwise improbable, not to say impossible, theory.

Documentary evidence, let me say, such as this adduced from archbishop Peckham's 'Constitutions,' is always—when really bearing upon a subject—of an interesting, oftentimes of a convincingly conclusive character. But what is the exact value of that now before us? It is quoted as though its meaning were as clear as daylight, and could not be gainsaid—swallowed, in fact, so to say, whole and without previous mastication. Be it remembered, however, that Peckham was a very learned man, and a great lawyer to boot, and therefore, in the composition of a legal instrument, would be sure to use legal and technical expressions. And it will be observed, on reference to this particular injunction, that he not only makes use of the word 'campana,' but also of a further one, viz., 'pulsetur,' to which last, by way of explanation, are added, 'in uno latere.' Now Durandus, and his master, Dom Johannes Beleth, from whom he quotes, tells us that there were no fewer than six recognized kinds of bells in ecclesiastical use, each several one of which had its own distinguishing and technical name. Writing of these, the latter says:—'sciendum est sex esse instrumentorum genera, quibus pulsatur: tintinnabulum, cymbalum, nola, nolula, campana, & signa'—Durandus, who gives them in the same order, calling only the first by the equivalent name 'squilla.'

[9] A further objection to this alleged reason is, that so many are found quite away from the high, or any other altar, whatever; as at S. Margaret's church, Durham, where the opening—on the level of the ground—is at the west end of the south aisle; at S. Mary, Castlegate, York, where it is to the west of the south porch; as is also the case at Staindrop, and Barnard Castle churches, whence the high, or parish, altars cannot even so much as be seen.

'Tintinnabulum,' continues Beleth, 'pulsatur, in triclinio & in refectorio: cymbalum in choro, nola in monasterio, nolula in horologio, campana in turribus, cujus diminutivum Hieronymus ad Eustochium in coenobium esse ait. Quousque campanula in claustro pulsabitur. Signa autem pro quibus pulsandis instrumentis accipi possunt, ut quibus quipiam significetur.' From all which it is perfectly clear that the 'campana' of the injunction could have no reference whatever to that class of small handbells which could be



ETTON, NEAR PETERBOROUGH (see next page).

carried about and rung through any of our 'low side windows,' more especially such as are only a few inches in diameter. Nor would such a use explain in any way, or be at all consistent with, the existence of those many instances in which, as at Goldsborough, near York, S. Martin, Micklegate, and S. Cuthbert, within the city, among others, these openings are double, that is, so to say, of two lights, separated only by a mullion; nor yet of those others where the two openings, as at Middleham and Atcham, are separated

by the space of the high altar only, or at Patrick Brompton, near Bedale, where the two, though some twelve feet apart, are yet both on the south side of the chancel; still less at Etton, near Peterborough (see preceding page), where, in the same position, the two, of different dates and sizes, are within a couple of feet of each other; since, whatever the size of the bell, there could be no possible use in ringing it through two closely adjacent apertures.

But besides, the technical word, *campana*, which applied expressly to great bells hung in towers, we have also another equally technical one in that which defines the manner of the ringing—*pulsetur*. Now, here again, both Beleth and Durandus tell us that there were three ways in which bells were to be rung. These were 'compulsari,' 'depulsari,' and 'simpulsari' or 'simpliciter pulsari.' By the first was meant violent ringing, with the mouth upwards; by the second, a less violent kind of ringing, backwards and forwards, as in the case of bells of moderate size, hung in open bell-cots; and by the third, simply tolling, knolling, or knelling, in which the clapper merely strikes the bell, as the injunction expresses it 'in uno latere.'

Now, in the case of handbells any such method of ringing as that prescribed by the word 'pulsetur,' would, as is clear, be altogether absurd, and out of the question, since such bells never are, nor, indeed, ordinarily can be, so rung. And thus we see how these two apparently simple, but really highly technical, words 'campana' and 'pulsetur,' so far from upholding, serve not only to condemn, but to exclude, the much vaunted handbell theory completely.

And then, further comes the reason why the great bell, or 'campana,' hung aloft in the tower was to be tolled like the usual 'death bell,' viz., in order that the people, being in their houses, or labouring far off in the fields, might know what was then taking place in the church, *i.e.*, 'Shewing the Lord's death till he come,' and wherever they were, or however occupied, might reverently bend their knees.

The methods of carrying out the injunction, as explained by itself, are seen, in short, to be just as technical, clear, and practically efficient as—considering their authorship—might be expected, and the ends for which it was issued, laudable. To suppose that such could be met by tinkling a little 'squilla' or 'tintinnabulum' in

the chancel—sufficient as this, of course, would be for a congregation actually assembled in the church—is surely nothing short of an endeavour to empty words of their meaning, and to turn the simplest common sense into sheer nonsense. Yet, this theory, I have reason to think, is, at the present moment supposed to be the *scientific* one; and consequently, among the 'better informed,' may be said to 'hold the field.'

XIV.—For 'Confession.' This view also holds a position which, if not quite, is yet well nigh as strong, perhaps, as that of the 'hand-bell.' To which of them the palm of absurdity should be awarded, would require, I think, an acutely critical, and finely balanced judgment to decide. And the curious, not to say amazing, thing about both of them, as also of that propounded by Mr. Paley, is this, viz., that all three alike rest their claims upon historical documents, thoroughly authentic and trustworthy in themselves, but which are found, on examination, to have absolutely nothing whatever to do with the subject. On what basis of the kind then, does this last theory of 'Confession'—that strangely fascinating word, which has served to bewitch, and deprive of their senses, so many generations—repose? At first, it might seem to have been, as usual, simply assumed, on the old and well established 'omne ignotum pro confessione' principle, without further enquiry. And then, by and bye, there turned up, whether by pure accident, or otherwise, 'confirmation strong as oracles of Holy Writ,' in the shape of a letter from Bedyll to Cromwell, relating to the state of affairs, not of any parish church, or churches, whatever, but *within the Monastery of Sion*. Yet this letter it is, which, wholly disconnected with the subject, we are asked to accept as clinching it conclusively. Here it is:—Bedyll to Cromwell. From MS. Cott. Cleop. E. IV. fol. 109.

Right worshipful, after my moost hertie commendations, pleace it you to understand that maister Leighton and I, have had muche busines with this house sythens your departing hens; and as for the brethern, they stand stif in their obstinacy as you left thaim . . . . . I handled Whitford after that in the garden, bothe with faire words and with foule, and showed him that throughe his obstinacy he shulde be brought to the greate shame of the world for his irreligious life, and for his using of bawdy wordes to diverse ladys at the tymes of their confession, whereby (I seyed) he myght be the occasion that shrift shalbe layed downe throughe England: but he hath a brasyn forehed,

whiche shameth at nothing . . . . . We have sequestered Whitford and Litell from hering of the ladys confessions; and we think it best that the place wher thes frires have been wont to hire uttward confessions of al commers at certen tymes of the yere be walled up, and that use to be fordoen for ever; ffor that hering of utward confessions hath been the cause of much evyl, and of muche treson whiche hath been sowed abrode in this mater of the Kinges title, and also in the Kinges graces mater of his succession and mariage . . . . . We purpose this after none, or els tomorrow mornyng to waite on the king grace, to know his plaisir in every thing, and specially towching the muring up of the howses of utterward confessions . . . . . .

From Sion, the xvijth day of December,

By yours, as your servant,

THOMAS BEDYLL.

Now, consider, in the first place, the simple matters of fact stated in this letter, and then, after that, the inferences, which, purely in support of this theory, have been drawn from them. Sion, be it remembered, was a Brigittine house in which monks and nuns, though separately, lived under a common rule. The visitors, after examination had, sequestrate the two confessors, Whitford and Little, from their office, and then proceed to say that 'we think it best that *the place* wher thes frires have been wont to hire uttward confessions of al commers at certen tymes of the yere be walled up, and that use to be fordoen for ever.' That is to say, that, in that house of that special order, the place where those two men had been used, at certain times, to hear the confessions of all comers, should be walled up, in order to put a stop to a practice which they were turning to treasonable account. In the concluding sentence it will be noted that they speak of the muring up of the 'houses,' not 'windows,' of outward confessions, that is, of outsiders, or non-members of the community, as though there were more than one such in that monastery; for there is no mention of, neither were they concerned with, any other. But could anything wilder or more inconsequent than the application of these expressions be conceived? Transferring the references from the two individuals concerned, and who were not, be it said, friars at all, to all the friars of the whole four orders, from the 13th to the 16th centuries inclusive; the *locus in quo* is similarly transferred from the single Brigittine house of Sion not, as parity of reason would require, to all the monasteries or friaries, but, *mirabile dictu*, to

all the parish churches in the land! Further, we are asked to believe, though history is wholly silent on the subject, that the friars of all orders were invested with such power that, in spite of the several incumbents, they themselves, who had no such legal rights, could forcibly enter their churches to hear the confessions of the parishioners, who, notwithstanding they had such legal rights, were compelled to remain outside. Then, still further, by implication, that the sins of these latter, paralleled only by a consuming desire to confess them, were such that, even in the smallest village, two confessors and confessionals were needed for their accommodation at the same time.[4] And finally, that the arrangements to this end were carried out in such a blundering way that while, in very many cases, both priest and penitent would have to lie down flat upon their bellies in order to converse; in many others they would have to mount ladders from ten to twenty feet high, for the purpose; and in all cases, and in all weathers, would have to do so in a public and exposed manner, when the church doors were open to both alike, and they had nothing to do but go inside, and shrive and be shriven, in peace and privacy. Nor is this all: for what shall be said to the existence of certainly one, if not two of these windows in the choir of the church of Jarrow; one, an early fourteenth century insertion, at the usual height to the north-west; the other, nearly opposite, towards the south but about fifteen feet above the ground, and of the original Saxon construction of 685? For this, be it remembered was no ordinary parish church, but that of a Benedictine monastery, and cell of the great mother house of Durham. Will it be pretended that the friars armed with bulls to hear confessions in parish churches, which no one has seen and which cannot be pro-

[4] Thus of the two 'low side windows' in the chancel of Edburton church, Sussex, it has been said (*Journal, Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xvii. pp. 206,7.): 'The rebate in the aperture, evidently intended for the usual shutters instead of glass, has been noticed by Mr. Bloxam and Mr. Brock as indicating the uses to which these windows were applied. The friars, protected by papal bulls in their invasions of the rights of the parochial or secular clergy, sat here to receive the confessions of all who came, till the windows were half closed up (as now usually seen) by an order, the date of which is given by Bloxam, that they should be no longer used. The shutters used by the friars were then removed, the windows glazed, and the practice discontinued.' In connexion with which calmly confident assertions, two simple, but pertinent, questions may be asked, viz: 1st, Where are the bulls? And 2nd, Where is the order? Up to the present both are absolutely unknown to history.

duced, were privileged to enter the churches of the established religious orders, and despite the abbots or priors hear confessions there also? The inventors of these bulls have not as yet, I think, had the hardihood to venture quite so far as this. But, it is urged again, that in some instances we find seats and book desks in close proximity to, and in evident connexion with these openings; followed by the enquiry, for what purpose could such have been supplied, save for the use of a confessor? Well! most choirs, we know, were provided not merely with one, but many stalls and book desks, yet quite independently of confessors. And then, these instances of seats and desks are so very few and far between, that only some half dozen or so have, I think, anywhere been noticed. One such, of which an illustration is here appended, exists at Melton Constable, Norfolk, while two others are instanced at Elifield, Oxon., and Allington, Wilts. At Wigginton, Oxon.,* again is another of a very exceptional and extraordinary character indeed, having a richly decorated stone canopy, in close connexion with a low side window formed by a transom cutting off the lower part of the western division of one of two lights. There is no desk however, and what its precise purpose may have been, and why it should be so elaborately enriched seems difficult to say. But whatever its object may have been it could clearly have no *necessary* connexion with the opening, since nothing of the kind has, so far as I

MELTON CONSTABLE.

* See next page.

know, been noticed in any other instance whatever. In two instances only, indeed, have I ever met with any provision for a book: one, *possible* only, at Patrick Brompton—an exceedingly rich and beautiful example, contemporaneous with the chancel, where the inner part of the flat sill, slightly sloped away, might accommodate a book; the other at

WIGGINGTON, OXON (see preceding page).

Crosby Garret (see plate III.), where there is a similar arrangement but accompanied by a ledge, about an inch in depth, to prevent the book from slipping. But the explanation is simple enough without calling in the aid of a wholly unnecessary and impossible confessor. Lights alone were not of themselves deemed all-sufficient. They were,

besides symbols of the divine presence, mute calls for prayer, and meant to be supplemented by it, as well for the souls of the dead from purgatorial pains, as for their bodies from demoniacal pollution; and whether the seat and desk were occupied by the parish priest, or members of guilds, or private persons, mattered nothing. Their prayers would be directed equally to one and the same end, and be offered in the same place where the light was set. 'Eternal rest give unto them, O Lord, and let perpetual light shine upon them.' In some of the French *fanaux*, as in those of Antigny and Ciron for example, a small altar was attached to the lower part of the shaft, shewing that not only prayers but the sacrifice of the mass also, were, at stated times, offered on the spot. The very rare occurrence of such seats and desks, therefore, need cause no surprise, or if any at all, only that they are not met with more commonly than they are.

In spite of misunderstood and misapplied texts, then, the 'confessional' theory—so manifestly impossible of application in cases out of number, as in those which are too high, or too low, or within a few feet of each other, or so close together that there is only the thickness of a mullion between them, to say nothing of its inherent absurdity, —must, like the *scientific* hand-bell one of certain *superior people*, be relegated to the limbo of 'imagined' but utterly 'vain things.'

XV.—'For the exhibition of lights, wherewith to dispel evil spirits.' Here we come, at length, to a theory which, though advanced many years ago, would seem, like all the rest, to have been nothing better than a piece of mere guess-work, unsupported by any evidence drawn either from literature or analogy. Whether for this reason or not, however, it fell flat, and was seldom, if ever, heard of again. Very possibly it might be thought to savour too strongly of ignorant, and childish superstition, to be worth serious attention. At any rate, it got none. Yet an ordinarily careful study of the subject must certainly have led to very different conclusions, and, though direct and positive evidence was not forthcoming, shew in a morally convincing way that, from whichever side approached, whether of analogy, or the offices of the church, this was the one and only theory which, when subjected to such tests, could stand, and be, in fact, the true one. But, in order to prove this, it will be necessary to take a

wide and comprehensive, though necessarily very slight, view of the subject in its several bearings. For it is one which is far reaching, and many sided; and though some of its aspects can be no more than glanced at, yet there are others which can be taken more in detail; and the more thoroughly this is done, the clearer and more convincing will this evidence appear.

CHAPTER II.

OF THEIR TRUE USE AND ORIGIN.

With many, perhaps most, people, nowadays, it is to be feared the bare mention of evil spirits—to say nothing of their expulsion—will be likely to raise only a laugh, or smile, of pitiful contempt. While quite prepared to admit the presence of 'evil,' they will, probably, draw a line at 'spirits,' or direct, personal agencies of evil. Nor need this, perhaps, be wondered at, for when such 'superior people' as the late Mr. Matthew Arnold, rejecting more or less completely the idea of a personal God, are only willing to admit in His stead 'a stream of tendency which makes for righteousness,' what more consistent than equally to reject the idea of a personal Devil, for a corresponding stream of tendency making for unrighteousness—the subordinate, ministering spirits, on either side, disappearing naturally with their respective principals. But then, the question is one, not at all of the belief or unbelief of the present, but of the faith and practice of the past, with which modern thought, while wholly unsympathetic, is, for the most part, just as wholly unacquainted. The intensely subjective points of view of to-day find themselves confronted by others equally intense but objective, of a yesterday which stretches back beyond the realms of history, into the very womb of time. Everything, animate or inanimate, falls within their scope—the spirits of the living, and the bodies of the dead alike. Hence the complexion of so many prayers, exorcisms, and ceremonies of the Church, exhibited in her divers offices from baptism to burial, and even afterwards. Indeed, it is only through a detailed study of these several rites and offices that the full force and extent of the belief in the all-pervading presence of such individual spiritual agencies can be realized; the

several uses of the cross, whether formative or material, of holy water, incense, salt, chrism, oil, and fire, all equally and alike pointing, not fancifully, but deliberately and confessedly, in that direction. What, for example, was one of the first and most important acts to be performed before building a church? Let Durandus, the highest of all ancient authorities on the Rationale of the Divine Offices, tell us: 'Est autem ecclesia,' says he, 'sic aedificanda. Parato namque fundamenti loco, juxta illud: bene fundata est domus domini super firmam Petram, debet episcopus, vel sacerdos de ejus licentia *ibi aquam aspergere benedictam ad abigendas inde daemonum phantasias, & primarium lapidem cui impressa sit crux in fundamento ponere.*' (Dur. *lib.* i., *cap.* i., p. 4.)

Why again, after being built, were churches dedicated? 'Tertio dicendum est,' he proceeds, 'quare ecclesia dedicatur, & quidem propter v. causas. *Primo, ut diabolus, et ejus potestas inde penitus expellatur*, unde refert Gregorius in dialogo lib. iij., c. xxj. quod cum quaedam ecclesia Arrianorum fidelibus reddita consecraretur, & reliquiae sancti Sebastiani, & beatae Agathae illuc delatae fuissent populus ibi congregatus *porcum repentè inter pedes huc illuc discurrere senserunt, qui fores ecclesiae repetens à nullo videri potuit omnesque in admiratione commovit. Quod idcirco dominus ostendit, ut cunctis patefieret, quod de loco eodem immundus habitato, exiret.* Sequenti autem nocte magnus in ejusdem Ecclesiae tectis strepitus factus est, ac si in eis aliquis errando discurreret. Secunda verò nocte, gravior sonus increpuit. Tertia quoque nocte tantus strepitus insonuit, ac si omnis illa ecclesia fundamentis fuisset eversa, statimque recessit, *nec ulterius apud illam antiqui hostis inquietudo apparuit.*' (Dur. *lib.* i., *cap.* vi. p. 17, *et dorso.*)

We also learn further, for what purpose the twelve consecration crosses—which even yet, in some instances, as at Exeter and Salisbury cathedrals, for instance, remain more or less perfect—were carved or depicted upon the church walls. 'Sanè christmate altari xij Cruces in parietibus ecclesiae depictae chrismantur. Depinguntur autem ipsae cruces: *Primò propter daemonum terrorem, ut scilicet daemones, qui inde expulsi sunt, videntes signum Crucis terreantur, et illuc ingredi non praesumant.*' (Dur. *lib.* i., *cap.* 6, p. 19.)

Again, when met together for public worship on Sundays, why were the holy table, the church, and people asperged with holy water? For a mere figuratively expressive and symbolic reason, to denote the clean hands and pure hearts with which they should draw near to God? Far from it. 'Sacerdos in dominicis diebus celebraturus, alba et stola paratus, priusquam planetam induat, ut liberius vacare possit; aquam . . . . . benedicit, altare, Ecclesiam, & populum aqua benedicta conspergit, *ut omnis spirituum immemaorum spurcitia tam de habitaculo, quam de cordibus fidelium propellatur.* Hanc enim virtus aquae exorcizatae inest & etiam, quia omnis Christianorum populus baptismatis sacramento renatus; ita ministerio aquae lota renatorum corpora diluit, sicut sanguis agni à prisco populo, ad repellendum percussorem, in postibus ponebatur, unde in canone Alexandri ita legitur: Aquam sale aspersam populis benedicimus: ut ea Cuncti aspersi sanctificentur et purificentur, quod & omnibus sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus; nam si cinis vitulae aspersus populum sanctificabat, atque mundabat, scilicet à venialibus, multò magis aqua sale aspersa, divinisque precibus sacrata, populum sanctificat atque mundat à venialibus, & si sale aspersa per Elisaeum sterilitas aquae sanata est, quanto magis divinis precibus sacratus sal, sterilitatem rerum aufert humanarum, & coinquinatos sanctificat, & purgat & caetera bona multiplicat, *& insidias diaboli avertit; & à phantismatis versutiis homines defendit.*' (Dur. *lib.* iv., *cap.* 4, p. 68.)

But these several acts and offices of defence against the 'fraud and malice of the devil,' which attended both the corporate and individual life of the church's children up to, and beyond its close, commenced at the very beginning—from the time when, as catechumens, they had not as yet even entered her fold.

Thus, of the oil of the catechumens, and its double use, we read 'Valet etiam hujus olei unctio ad duo, scilicet ad purgationem et ad tutelam. Ad purgationem, *ut si quae catechumino postquam venit in scrutinium, adhaesere maculae, recedant ad tutelam: ut diabolus expulsus, redire non audeat*, verba orationis hoc demonstrant dicendo: Si quae illius adversantium spiritualium adhaeserunt maculae, recedant ad tactum hujus sanctificati olei. Haec de purgatione. De

tutela sequitur. Nullis spiritualibus nequitiis locus, nulla refugis virtutibus facultus, nulla insidiantibus malis latendi licentia relinquatur. Quia vero diabolum se damnandum maximè in futuro judicio novit: et inde tremit, idcirco exorcismus terminatur. Per eundem dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, & seculum per ignem. *Exorcismus enim est adjuratio. Nam in ea adjuratur diabolus ut recedat.*' (Dur. *lib.* vi., *cap.* lxxiv, *dorso.*)

Then again, when the sacrament of baptism comes to be administered: 'Post interrogationem et responsionem *sacerdos ter in faciem baptizandi exsufflat: ad notandum, quòd saeva potestas, id est malignus spiritus ab eo exsufflatur, id est ex sufflando expellitur, seu in proximo expellenda significatur, ut per pium sacerdotis mysterium Spiritui sancto cedat fugiens spiritus malignus.* Hinc autem ait Augustinus, Ergo parvuli exsufflantur et exorcizantur, id est, increpantur, seu adjurantur, ut expellatur ab eis diaboli potestas inimica quae decipit hominem, ut possideat homines. Haec autem exsufflatio sive exorcizatio, & si non prosit aliquid ad vitam, quia adhuc in eis mors manet: prodest tamen, ut inimicus minus et nocere possit. Adest enim Spiritus Sanctus, non solum verbis, quae dicuntur in nomine suo: verum etiam significationibus, quae sunt in honore suo. Et est notandum, quod *exorkismos* graecè, latinè dicitur adjuratio, ut est illud. Exi ab eo immunde spiritus.' (Dur. *lib.* vi., *cap.* 82, p. 238 *dorso.*)

Afterwards also, in the office of confirmation, we read:— 'Bis ergo ungitur chrismate baptizatus, scilicet in vertice et in fronte: nam et ipsis Apostolis bis fuit datus Spiritus Sanctus. Primò in terra quando Christus exsufflavit in eos dicens: Accipite Spiritum Sanctum. Secundò à coelo in die pentecostes sed et ipsi Apostoli receperunt Spiritum Sanctum in baptismo . . . . Subsequenter episcopus confirmatum percutit in faciem. Primò, ut tenacius memoriae teneat, se hoc sacramentum recepisse. Secundo, quia hoc sacramentum datur baptizato ad robur fidei, ut praemissum est: ut videlicet sit ita fortis in fide in baptismo suscepta, quòd ulterius coram quocunque confiteri nomen Christi non erubescat. Tertio, haec percussio representat manuum impositionem, quoniam Apostoli per manus impositionem

confirmabant. *Quarto, ad terrendum malignum spiritum, ut fugiat, et ne redire audeat.*' (Dur. *lib.* vi., *cap.* 84, pp. 241 *dorso*, 242 and *dorso.*)

Again, in connexion with the consecration of churches or altars, we learn in what, among others, one chief cause of rejoicing, at least, consisted. '*Post completam vero ecclesiae, vel altaris consecrationem cantatur allelu-Ia: quoniam exclusa daemonum phantasia Deus ibi laudabitur, etc.* Secundò circa aquae benedictionem notandum est, quod hujusmodi aquae exorcizatio fit ad effugandum inde inimicum. In qua benedictione quatuor necessaria sunt, videlicet, aqua, vinum, sal, et cinis. Et hoc propter tria. Primò, quum quatuor sunt quae inimicum expellunt. Primum, est lachymosum effusio: quae per aquam. Secundum, est spiritualis exultatio, quae per vinum. Tertiò naturalis discretio, quae per sal. Quartum, profunda humilitas, quae per cinerem significatur.' (Dur. *lib.* i., *cap.* vii., p. 22.)

Further, in the Eucharistic service, we are told why the altar is to asperged. 'Altare enim aspergitur propter reverentiam sacramenti, quod ibidem consecrandum est, *ut inde omnium malignorum spirituum praesentia arceatur*, quemadmodum Christus per altare quod esse debet lapideum, significatur, secundum illud Apostoli: Petra autem erat Christus: & fides nostra de uno Christo & non de pluribus est: idcirco ut signum signato respondeat, unico altari asperso, universus aspergitur populus, quid ipse solus est, qui tollit peccata mundi.' (Dur. *lib.* iii., *cap.* 4, p. 63 *dorso.*)

And then, still further, during the same service, why incense is used in regard to both sacrifice and altar alike:—'Maria ergo, scilicet Magdalena,' says he, 'accepit libram unguenti nardi, pistici pretiosi, & unxit pedes Jesu, & impleta est domus ex odore unguenti. Et sacerdos in modum crucis superducit et circumducit incensum super sacrificium, et altare, *ut & crucis signaculo & turis incenso diabolicae fraudis malignitas extricetur, et effugiat.*' (Dur. *lib.* iv., *cap.* 31, p. 95, dorso.) The previous incensing of the altar being explained in cap. 10, p. 70:—'Praeter mysticam etiam rationem *ob hoc incensatur altare ut omnis ab eo nequitia daemonum propellatur. Fumus enim incensi valere creditur ad daemones effugandos.*'

Again, as regards the use of the cross and ringing of bells, whether

during processions, or in times of storm and tempest, the fullest and clearest explanations are offered. Thus, of the cross in processions we read—'Crux ergo, quasi regale vexillum et triumphale signum in processionibus praemittitur. Primo, ut fugiant, qui oderunt eum, à facie ejus. Ps. lxvij. Est enim signum victoriae Christi. Juxta illud: Vexilla regis prodeunt, etc., *quo daemones victi sunt, unde illo viso timent et fugiunt.*' (Dur. *lib.* iv., *cap.* 6, p. 67.) And again, in those of rogation tide—'Caeterum in processione ipsa praecedunt crux et capsa reliquiarum sanctorum, *ut vexillo crucis et orationibus sanctorum daemones repellantur.*' (*Ibid.* vi., *cap.* 102, p. 259 *dorso.*)

Of the use and purpose of bellringing, and the benefits accruing therefrom, the witness is equally full and unequivocal. Nothing, indeed, could be more directly to the point, or show how thoroughly the belief in the all-pervading presence and interference of evil spirits in the worlds of nature and of grace alike, was held by, and exhibited in, the daily life and offices of the church. 'Pulsatur autem et benedictitur campana,' we are told, 'ut per illius tactum et sonitum. . . . *procul pellantur hostiles exercitus, & omnes insidiae inimici . . . spiritus procellarum, & aereae potestates prosternantur,* & ut hoc audientes confugiant ad sanctae matris Ecclesiae gremium ante sanctae crucis vexillum, cui flectitur omne genu,' etc. (Dur. *lib.* i. *cap.* 4, p. 13 *dorso.*) And yet still further, in the same chapter, on the subject of bell-ringing during processions — 'Caeterum campanae in processionibus pulsantur, *ut daemones timentes fugiant. Timent enim auditis tubis ecclesiae militantis, scilicet campanis, sicut aliquis tyrannus timet audiens in terra sua tubas alicujus potentis regis inimici sui.* Et haec etiam est causa quare ecclesia videns concitari tempestatem, campanas pulsat, scilicet, *ut daemones tubas aeterni regis, id est, campanas audientes, territi fugiant, & à tempestatis concitatone quiescant,* & ut ad campanae pulsationem fideles admoneantur, & provocentur pro instanti periculo orationi insistere.' (p. 14 *dorso.*)

But belief in the universal presence, and malignity of these satellites of the 'Prince of the power of the air,' reached far beyond the creation of tempests, or blight and pestilence among cattle, and fruits of the field. It attached to the minutest and most trivial details connected with the events of everyday life; and that not

merely among the illiterate and superstitious, but the most learned and devout teachers and rulers of the church.

'Nullus debet etiam unquam aliud comedere,' writes Durandus, 'nisi prius saltem signo crucis facto. Unde legitur in dialogo Greg. Papae, lib. j., c., iiij., quod cum quaedam monialis iret per hortum, latucam, sine benedictione comedit, *& simul daemonem, qui super eam erat, suscepit, qui etiam multum vexavit.*' 'Nos quoque,' continues he, 'vidimus in civitate Bonon. puellam à duobus spiritibus immundis, & malignis triennio vexatam. Cumque à quodam perito volente illos cum exorcismis & abjurationibus ab humano corpore pellere interrogarentur, qualiter corpus mulieris intrassent, *responderent, quod sedebant in quodam melograuato, quod ipsa puella comederat, qui tandem virtute adjurationum nobis praesentibus ab humano corpore recesserunt.*' (Dur. *lib.* vi., *cap.* 86, p. 245.)

We see then, from the several rites and ceremonies of the church, as interpreted, not by any process of modern guess-work, but by the very highest contemporary authority, how strong and universally prevailing this belief, not only in the existence, but in the constant active interference of evil spirits in the affairs of human life really was; and shall, therefore, be all the less surprised to find how the same malignant powers, which pursued men through life, were believed to follow and defile them even after death. For this, be it noted, is the precise point in our enquiry to which the quotations above given all gradually and systematically lead up. They exhibit, as such extracts only can, the depth and reality of those convictions which alone could make such issues, as we find them ultimately terminating in, possible. For Durandus, in his exposition of the office of the burial of the dead, writes:—'Adhuc licet in missa pro vivis debeant omnes turificari ad significandum: quod illorum orationes ad coelestia diriguntur, in missa tamen pro defunctis non debet tus per chorum portari, nec offerri, id est altare turificari, sed circa corpus tantum quia hoc in lege prohibitum fuit. Nullus ergo in hoc officio turrificatur, ad notandum, quod mortui nil, amodo valent orationibus suis promereri, unde Psal. Non mortui laudebunt te Domine. *Ipsa auiem defunctorum corpora turrificantur, & aqua benedicta aspurguntur, non ut eorum peccata tollantur: quae tunc per talia tolli nequeunt, sed ut*

omnis immundorum spirituum praesentia arceatur, & fiunt etiam in signum societatis, et communionis sacramentorum quam nobis cum dum vixerunt habuerunt.' (*Lib.* vii., *cap.* 35, p. 300 *dorso.*) And then finally, after the body has been brought to the grave side :—'Deinde ponitur in spelunca, *in qua, in quibusdam locis, ponitur aqua benedicta et prunae cum ture. Aqua benedicta ne daemones qui multum eam timent ad corpus accedant. Solent namque desaevire in corpora mortuorum ut quod nequiverunt in vita, saltem post mortem agant.*' . . . 'Et in quocunque loco extra coemeterium,' he continues, 'Christianus sepeliatur, semper crux capiti illius apponi debet, ad notandum illum Christianum fuisse, *quia hoc signum diabolus valde veretur, & timet accedere ad locum crucis signaculo insignitum.*' (*Lib.* vii., *cap.* 35, p. 301 *dorso.*)

In face then of the possibility, however remote, of such hideous desecration befalling the bodies of the passive and defenceless dead, what wonder that all possible care which either natural piety or affection could devise, should be resorted to for their defence ? And such, altogether apart from, and beyond the ordinary and prescribed ritual of the church, we shall find to have been commonly exercised by all sorts and conditions of men, everywhere. And our evidence for this, like that supplied by the offices themselves, and their contemporary expounders, comes to us, fortunately, at first hand. I refer to those little known, and less generally read, but invaluable documents—the medieval Wills. Though differing, *toto coelo*, as they do, both in form and substance, from those of the present day ; in no single particular, perhaps, is the contrast so strikingly apparent as in the elaborate provision made therein for the rites to be observed during the times following directly upon death, and afterwards. Far more thought, indeed, is bestowed upon the temporal and eternal welfare of the dead than of the living ; first for the treatment of the body, then for that of the soul ; for the funeral accessories in the church and churchyard, in addition to, while forming part of, the prescribed service ; and after these, for masses, whether for a fixed time, or in perpetuity.

Among these observances, by far the most striking and persistent were those connected with the 'ceremonial use of lights !' Following hard upon the dutiful commending of their souls to God and all the

company of heaven, the first clauses are, almost without exception, devoted to the place of sepulture, and the number, weight, or cost of the candles and torches to be burnt about their bodies, directly after death, as well as during, and after, the funeral solemnities. Then the number of masses to be celebrated for their souls—of the priests to be engaged, and the term of years over which their services were to extend. When not in perpetuity, these last commonly varied between one and two, or twenty.

Generally speaking, the wealth and status of the testator may be fairly guaged by the extent of these provisions only. In most cases little or nothing is said as to the lights to be burned in the house while the body was being watched, between the days of death and burial, the ordinary custom in such cases following as a matter of course, and calling for no special directions in the will. Sometimes, however, their cost may have been included in the lump sums occasionally bequeathed for the entire funeral expenses, and implied in connexion with the amount provided to be paid to the 'clericis psalteria psallentibus et viduis vigilantibus et orantibus,' for the soul of the deceased during that period. What we find commonly referred to in these documents is the precise number, weight, or cost of the tapers and torches to be burnt at, and after, the time of the public exequies in the church. For these, the provision made, though in a few cases rigidly limited, in order to avoid all appearance of pomp or vain glory—was always abundant; in many cases, as might seem, extravagant. Thus, though Thomas de Buckton, canon of York, 1346, enjoins two candles only to be burnt about his body, one at his head and the other at his feet, Master Thomas de Walkington, rector of Houghton-le-Spring, 1410, leaves a hundred shillings—equal to about £75 of our money—for the like purpose; while at the burial of Ralph, lord Nevill, at Durham cathedral, in 1355, the church, we are told, had no less than nine hundred and fifty pounds of wax, and sixty torches; and at his wife's, in 1373, fifty pounds of silver, together with three hundred pounds of wax, and fifty torches.

What then was the end and object of all this expenditure, and what the meaning to be attached to the corresponding ceremonies? For that they not only had a meaning, but a very important one, cannot be doubted, however much it might, in process of time, have

become obscured through the ceremonies being perverted to purposes of mere social ostentation and display. Of that meaning, there cannot be a doubt. 'Lumen quid, in ecclesia accenditur,' writes Durandus (*lib.* i. *cap.* i. p. 6). '*Christum significat juxta illud: Ego sum lux mundi.* Illuminatur autem ecclesia ex praeceptis Domini, unde in Exo. legitur, Praecipe filiis Aaron, ut offerant oleum de arboribus olivarum purissimum, ut ardeat lucerna semper in tabernaculo testimonii. Fecit quoque Moses lucernas septem, quae sunt septem dona spiritus sancti quae in nocte hujus seculi tenebras nostrae caecitatis illustrant quae super candelabra ponuntur, quia requievit supra Christum spiritus sapientiae, & intellectus, spiritus consilii, & fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae, & pietatis, spiritus timoris Domini, quibus praedicavit captivis intelligentiam.' And again (*lib.* vi. *cap.* lxxxix. p. 251). '*De septem diebus post Pascha,*' he says, 'In quibusdam etiam Ecclesiis in his diebus quando descenditur ad fontes, antefertur quidam serpens imaginarius, super vergam, et candela novo lumine accensa super caput serpentis retorta affigitur, ex quo cereus paschalis, et omnes aliae ecclesiae candelae accenduntur . . . . . *Nam serpens in palo, est Christus in patibulo.*' Further (*lib.* vii. *cap.* vii. p. 287 *dorso* & 288), 'Debemus quidem portare *non tantum deitatem vel humanitatem, sed utrumque, sicut fecit Symeon, quod significatur per candelam, quam ferimus in processione. Per ceram enim per apes opere virginali, cum melle productam: nulla enim libidine resolvuntur humanitas sive caro Christi ex virgine sumpta: per lumen, deitas, quia Deus noster ignis consumens est.*'[10] In these, as in all other

[10] Again, during the service of the mass—'Acolyti . . . . cereos ferunt accensos, dum legitur evangelium, aut offertur sacrificium, non ut tenebras aeris, sed cordis illuminent, cum sol forte eodem tempore rutilet, & ut proximis opera lucis ostendant, atque ad signum laetitiae demonstrandum, ut sub typo luminis corporalis, illa lux ostendatur, de qua in evangelio legitur: Erat lux vera quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum . . . . Dominus autem hoc officium se habere testatur, cum dicit, Ego sum lux mundi, qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris sed habebit lumen vitae.' Dur. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 7. p. 37.

And yet again: 'De officio sabbati,' we read of the newly lighted paschal candle—'Caereus & renovatus & illuminatus significat, quod Christus resurgens a mortuis, in carne gloriosa versus Deus apparuerit. Atque ita caereus illuminatus exprimit Christum divinitatis splendore illuminatum. Quòd autem ex igne maximi caerei duo minores ac caetera Ecclesiae lumina incenduntur, declarat non solum Prophetas & Apostolos, qui per minores duos caereos, intelliguntur, igne Sancti Spiritus fuisse illuminatos sed quòd omnes etiam Ecclesiae fideles eodem igne illustrentur.' *Div. Offic. D. Johannis Beleth, brevis explicatio. Cap.* 110. p. 355 *dorso.*

instances, one or two lights are declared to represent, or stand for Christ in one person or two natures; or when more, then of those who, illuminated by Him, 'brought life and immortality to light through the gospel.' Burnt about the bodies of the dead, they put them, by such act of faith, under the direct and immediate protection of Him who said: 'I am the light of the world: he that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.'

All these, however, were included in those exequies—'in die sepulturae'—for the due celebration of which, as well as for the subsequent masses and other observances, the following extracts from some of our northern wills make such interesting and varied provisions.

Chapter III.

OF CANDLES AND TORCHES TO BE BURNT ABOUT THEIR BODIES, FOR WHICH, AS WELL AS FOR MASSES, ETC., SPECIAL PROVISION WAS MADE IN THE WILLS OF THE DECEASED.

JOHANNES DAUDRE miles.—'Sepeliendum in Cimiterio Beatae Mariae de Seggefeld. . . . . Item in cerâ xl^{s} . . . . Item clericis salteriam dicentibus et viduis vigilantibus xiij^{s} iiij^{d} . . . . . Item cuidam capellano idoneo celebranti pro animâ meâ per sex annos in Ecclesiâ de Seggefeld xx. libras.'

NICHOLAS LE MOUNER of Medomsley.—'In cerâ comburendâ circa corpus meum ij^{s}.' Prob. 13 kal. Maii 1346.

DOMINUS RADULPHUS DE NEVILL.—'Item Sacrista habuit nongentos et quinquaginta libras cerae, et sexaginta torgys, circa corpus ejusdem.' A.D. MDCCCLV.

'Item Alicia uxor ejusdem Radulphi . . . in Testamento suo dedit Priori et Conventui quinquaginta libras cerae. . . . . Item habuit sacrista trescentas libras cerae et quinquaginta torgys.' A.D. 1374.—*Hist. Dun. Script. tres* (9 *Surt. Soc. publ.*), 135.

THOMAS DE RIDELL, senior, Burgensis Villae Berwici super Twedam, 1358.—'Item lego in cerâ comburendâ circa corpus meum iiij libras. Item lego circa exequias meas faciendas die sepulturae meae et in elemosinis pauperibus erogandis viij libras.'

WILLIAM DE FELTON, 1358.—'Item pro lumine circa corpus meum in die sepulturae meae c solidos.'

WILLIAM MENNEVILL, 1371.—'Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in alâ Beatae Mariae in Ecclesiâ de Esyington juxta tumulum Dionisiae consortis meae . . . Item lego ad sustentandum quinque cereos in perpetuum coram altari Beatae Mariae Virginis in capellâ Ecclesiae de Esyngton x marcas . . . . Item volo quod quinque cerei stent circa corpus meum, in quorum quolibet sint tres librae cerae, et non minus.'

The references in this, and in the two preceding extracts, are worthy of note as shewing the different provisions made, in each case, with respect to the use of lights. In the first case, Thomas de Ridell directs four pounds of wax—in the shape of as many candles, probably—to be burnt about his body, in accordance with common custom, as it would seem, between the time of his death and burial. For the ceremonies, and alms on that day, however, he leaves eight pounds sterling. William de Felton, while giving no direction as to what should be done during the intermediate stage, contents himself with making the very large bequest of c^{s}—equal to about £75 0s. 0d. of our money—for lights to be burnt about his body on the day of his burial alone. William Mennevill, on the other hand, while directing that five lights of three pounds weight each, at the least, should be burnt about his body, without specifying whether before, or at the time of, his burial, provides for five others to burn perpetually before the altar in the chapel of St. Mary. This chantry—whether of his own, or some earlier foundation, does not appear—was, as the architectural arrangements clearly show, contrived in the eastern part of the south aisle; and thus the lights, as is evident, would burn, not only before the altar, but also before the tombs of himself and his wife, which were in front of it. They stood for the five wounds of Christ.

DOMINUS ROBERTUS OGILL, 1410.—'Infra ecclesiam parochialem de Whalton, videlicet in porticu Beatae Mariae, quem volo ut plumbo cooperiatur meis sumptibus et expensis. . . . Volo eciam quod duo honesti et idonei capellani per xij. annos ibidem pro animâ meâ et Johannae uxoris meae, ac omnium parentum et benefactorum nostrorum, et pro animabus quibus teneor, celebraturi inveniantur, horas canonicas cum placebo et dirige singulis diebus à canone licitis praemissa dicturi,' etc.

He would therefore, be buried before the altar of the B.V.M.; and the daily mass, with lights, would accordingly be celebrated before his grave for the time specified. This, together with a great many other similar bequests, forms an interesting connecting link between the usual provision made for such solemnities at the time of burial, and those on behalf of the permanent chantries which were to last while 'the world should stand.'

MAGISTER THOMAS WALKYNGTON, rector of Houghton-le-Spring, archdeacon of Cleveland, and chaplain to the Pope, 1410. To be buried in the collegiate church of St. John of Beverley.—'Item lego in cerâ comburendâ circa corpus meum die sepulturae meae c^{s}.'

RALPH DE BROMLEY, vicar of Norton, 1415.—'Corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in choro Ecclesiae de Norton. Item lego iiij^{l} cerae ad ardendum circa corpus meum ad exequias meas in die sepulturae meae.'

MATILDA, wife of WILLIAM DEL BOWES, 1420.—'Corpus meum sepeliendum in ecclesiâ de Dalton in le Dale. . . . Item do et lego Ecclesiae de Dalton vj torches, et in quâlibet torche vj libras cerae. Item do et lego Luminari Beatae Mariae de Dalton ij quarteria frumenti.'

These great torches would, doubtless, be burnt before the Bowes vault in the choir of Dalton church, which faces the high altar on the north side. The present altar tomb was constructed, either for the husband of the testatrix, Sir William Bowes, knight, or for her son, Sir Robert Bowes, knight, who was slain at the battle of Baugy Bridge, in 1421, the year after the making of the will, and is still in good preservation. Most probably, however, it was for the latter.

ELIZABETH, LADY FITZHUGH, 1427.—'My body may be caried to Jeruaux, and y^{r} to bee biryed afore the hegh Auter beside my lord's body. And as for myn enterment I will yat y^{r} ben at myn exequises & atte messes vpon ye morow xxiiij torches brennyng aboute myn herse and xv tapers ychon of a pond brennyng afore y^{e} hegh aut^{r} in y^{e} same messes tyme.'

ROBERT CONYERS DE SOCKBURN, 1431.—'Corpusque meum sepeliendum in Ecclesiâ Parochiali Omnium Sanctorum de Sokburn, cum mortuariis meis debitis et consuetis. Item lego in cerâ cremandâ circa corpus meum, in die sepulturae meae, iiij libras. Item lego summo altari iij^{s} iiij^{d}.'

THOMAS LYNDLEY of Scutterskelf, 1529.—'Corpus ad sepeliendum in ecclesiâ de Rudby in choro coram sedem clerici parochialis, quinque serie duarum librarum sint ardentes supra corpus meum tempore missali, quilibet cerius continens unam libram cerae. Capellanus meus celebret unam missam in septimanî annuatim de quinque vulneribus xp'i pro animâ meâ in Ecclesiâ de Rudby in diebus dominicis.'

To the above extracts, taken from the Surtees Society's Northern Wills and Inventories, may be added—for the sake of ampler information, and the strong light which they throw upon the mortuary observances of former days—divers others from those of York, where the wills of early date—far more numerous than at Durham—are of the utmost interest and importance.

RICARDUS KELLAWE,[11] Episcopus Dunelmensis 1316.—'Item lego sexaginta libras cerae ad sexaginta cereos faciendum circa funus meum.'

[11] Bishop Kellawe was buried, according to his own direction, in the chapter house at Durham, 'above the step,' where his remains were discovered, in a stone coffin, during the excavations there, in 1879.

On the morning after his death, which took place at Middleham, 'in minori camerâ,' when the monk who had attended to, said mass for him, he had a

MAGISTER JOHANNES DE WODEHOUS, quondam Rector ecclesiae de Sutton super Derwent, MCCCXLV.—'Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in cimeterio sancti Michaelis de Sutton praedicta juxta crucem sancti cimiterii. Item lego in luminaribus circa corpus meum xxx^{s}. Item lego clericis psalteria psallentibus et viduis vigilantibus et orantibus pro animâ meâ xiij^{s} iiij^{d}.'

HUGO DE TUNSTEDE, rector ecclesiae de Catton, MCCCXLVI.—'Sepeliendum in choro ecclesiae predictae, juxta magnum altare ad latus aquilonare. Item volo quod circa corpus meum sint quatuor personae pauperes, induti tunicis nigris cum capuciis, tenentes quatuor torticeos, quorum quilibet sit pondiris vij librarum cerae. (Persons named). Item volo quod feretrum meum cooperiatur panno nigro ejusdem sectae, tantae longitudinis et latitudinis quantae fuerit pannus pro personis predictis, et post sepulturam meam dividatur inter quatuor viduas per equales porciones. (Persons named).'

EDMUNDUS DE PERCY, Civis Ebor, MCCCXLVI.—'sepeliendum in ecclesia Sancti Clementis Ebor. Item do et lego unum lectisternium[12] meum melius ut ponatur super feretrum, super corpus meum, et post sepulturam meam remaneat ecclesiae Sancti Clementis predictae. Item lego vj libras cerae comburendas circa corpus meum.'

AGNES nuper uxor Domini ROGERI DE BURTON militis, MCCCXLVI.—sepeliendum in ecclesiâ Fratrum Predicatorum Ebor. Item legavit xiij pauperibus portantibus xiij cereos die sepulturae suae xiij tunicas de nigro cum capuciis.'

HUGO DE HASTINGS miles, MCCCXLVIJ.—'Sepeliendum in ecclesia parochiali de Elsyng. Et lego ad fabricam dictae ecclesiae quadraginta libras. Item lego pro omnibus expensis faciendis a tempore mortis meae usque sepulturam meam totaliter finiendam xxx^{l}. Item lego Domino Ricardo Capellano meo x marcas. Et volo quod idem Dominus Ricardus celebret pro animâ meâ per decem annos proxime sequentes post diem sepulturae meae in ecclesiâ parochiali de Elsyng, et non alibi, capiens per annum de executoribus meis quinque marcas. item lego Domino Thomae capellano meo x marcas. Et volo similiter quod idem Dominus Thomas celebret pro animâ meâ similiter in eadem ecclesiâ per decem annos, capiens per annum quinque marcas.'

The testator built the church in 1347, and, therefore, as founder, would have the most honourable place of sepulture before the high altar, where lights would burn, and masses be sung for ten years

vision, as Greystanes tells us, of the bishop, as if saying with his latest breath, 'I am of the household of Christ,' which made him remember the passage in St. John, 'where I am, there shall also my servant be.'

[12] *Lectisternium* was a feast offered to the gods, in which their images were placed on couches before tables covered with viands. In the Christian period—a feast held in memory of a deceased person. From the nature of the context, it seems clear that, in the present instance, the term is used only in respect of the drapery which was spread upon the couches, and must, therefore, be taken to mean the best coverlet.

afterwards. The remains of his magnificent brass may still be seen there, with eight of the chiefest men in England on it as 'weepers.' Carter, Cotman, Waller, and Boutell all describe and illustrate it.

JOHAN Counte de Warenne de Surrey et de Strathorne, Seigneur de Bromfeld et de Yal, MCCCXLVII.—mon corps d'estre enterre en l'eglise Saint Pancratz[18] de Lewes en une arche pres del haut autier a la partie senestre quele jeo ay fait faire. Jeo voile que touz les draps d'or et de saye qui serront offortz pour mon corps, et que tout la cire de la herce qui serra faite entour mon corps demoergent a la dit esglise ou mon corps serra enterrez. Jeo devys as friers Minours de Lewes cynquantz marc. Et jeo voile que une mesne herce soit faite en lour esglise et q'ils chauntent une messe de Requiem pour alme et que toute la cire de la dite herce demoerge devers eux.

ISABELLA quae fuit uxor Domini Willielmi filii Willielmi de Emelay militis, MCCCXLVIII.—ad sepeliendum in capellâ sancti Thomae Martiris in ecclesiâ de Sprotburgh. Item lego luminari circa corpus meum, die sepulturae meae, viij torches cerae, una cum viij vestibus pro octo hominibus illa portantibus. Item quatuor presbiteris ad celebrandum pro animâ meâ in ecclesiâ de Sprotburgh primo anno xx marc.

AGNES PERCEHAY relicta domini Walteri Percehay Militis, MCCCXLVIII.—sepeliendum in prioratu de Malton juxta corpus mariti. Item volo quod executores mei exhibeant sex sacerdotes per unum annum ad celebrandum pro animâ mariti mei quondam et pro animâ meâ. Item lego xxxvj ulmas panni nigri sive albi pro vestura xiij pauperum corpus meum circumstantium. Et volo quod apponantur circa corpus meum tresdecim magnae candelae de cerâ sine pluribus.

AGNES DE SELBY, MCCCLIX.—in cimiterio sancti Michaelis de Berefrido Ebor. Item lego et volo quod quinque librae cerae et dimidia comburantur circa corpus meum in quinque cereis factis die sepulturae. Et volo quod quinta cerea sit ponderis unius librae et dimidiae cerae, et post sepulturam meam ponatur coram altare beatae Mariae ad comburendum tempore majoris missae omnibus diebus festivis quamdiu duraverit.

[18] The site of the church of St. Pancras at Lewes, or of a very considerable part of it, including the testator's place of sepulture, now 'hangs in air;' a cutting of the Brighton and Hastings railway, forty feet wide and twelve deep, having swept it utterly away. The plan of the church was remarkable, consisting of a pair of western towers, a nave, with north and south aisles, a short transept with an apsidal chapel on each side eastwards, and a semi-circular choir with five similar radiating chapels. In a line with the centre of the transept, and on the left, or south, side of the high altar—precisely in the spot indicated in the will—was found a skeleton, with the nails of a coffin, and some remains of grave clothes. Beneath the skull was a leaden bull of Pope Clement VI., inscribed Clemens P.P. VI. He was elected in 1342, and died in 1352. Midway between these dates, died and was buried, John, eighth and last earl of Warenne, and of whose plenary absolution, probably, this was the sole surviving relic.

In many other graves, thin plates of brass, much corroded, are said to have been found upon the breasts of the deceased, during the same operations. See Fosbroke, *Brit. Mon.*, p. 213.

WILLIELMUS DE NEUPORT, rector ecclesiae de Wermouth, MCCCLXVI.—sepeliendum in medio chori ecclesiae de Wermouth. Item do et lego decem libras cerae, ut in quinque cereis ardendis circa corpus meum eodem die sepulturae meae cum sex torchis. *Item do et lego novae fabricae*[14] *ecclesiae Ebor. xl*[l].

MARMADUKE LE CONSTABLE, miles MCCCLXXVI.—sepeliendum in cancello ecclesiae sancti Oswaldi Regis de Flaynburgh.—Item lego xxv. libras cerae ad faciendum in quinque candelas ad comburendum circa corpus meum die sepulturae. Item lego sex libras argenti pro xij. torchis emendis et comburendis circa corpus meum die sepulturae meae. Et volo quod xij. pauperes portant et teneant illos circa corpus meum induti tunicis et caputiis de russeto, quousque sepeliatur, de quibus xij. torches finitâ sepulturâ meâ, volo quod quatuor torches remaneant ad summum altare in ecclesiâ de Flayneburgh pro reverentiâ corporis Christi. Et ij torches remaneant ad altare sanctae Mariae in eadem. Et ij remaneant ad altare sanctae Katherinae in eadem. Item lego ij ad summum altare in ecclesia de Holm et ij ad deserviendum in capellâ sancti Nicholai in eadem.—Item lego domino Johanni German, ad celebrandum divina pro animâ meâ per ij annos post decessum meum, in loco ubi sepelietur corpus meum xij[l].

JOHANNES DE MEUX DE BEWYK in Holderness miles, MCCCLXXVII.—sepeliendum in ecclesiâ sancti Bartholomei in Aldeburgh, videlicet in insulâ Beatae Mariae in ecclesiâ predictâ et volo quod corpus meum sepelliatur in habitu Fratrum Minorum, quia eorum frater sum in eodem ordine, et volo quod corpus meum tegatur nigro panno die sepulturae meae, et circa illud corpus quatuor magnos torgeos ardentes.

ROBERTUS DE SWYLYNGTON, miles, MCCCLXXIX.—sepeliendum in ecclesiâ de Swilyngton, videlicet in capellâ beatae Mariae ante altare ex parte boreali Christianae uxoris meae. Item lego xx. libras cerae ad comburendum circa corpus meum tempore exequiarum mearum. Item lego Capellanis (etc.) xiij.[s] iiij[d]. Item volo quod sex pauperes vestiantur in russet, et sedeant ad orandum circa corpus meum quousque sepeliatur. Item volo quod expensae faciendae circa exequias meas fiant tantum pauperibus et egenis.

ROGERUS DE MORETON civis et mercerus Ebor. MCCCXC.—sepeliendum in Ecclesiâ sancti Martini in Conyngstrete in Ebor. Item lego xx. libras cerae in quinque cereis conficiendis et circa corpus meum comburendis in die sepulturae meae. Item lego ij torcheas cerae precii xiij[s]. iiij[d]. ad ardendum ad missam, in die sepulturae, et extunc ad ardendum et deserviendum in ecclesiâ predictâ ad summum altare. Item lego cuidam capellano honesto et ydoneo, divina celebraturo pro salute animae meae per duos amnos integros in ecclesiâ memoratâ x[l].

JOHANNES DE SANCTO QUINCTINO, MCCCXCVII.—sepeliendum in ecclesiâ beatae Mariae de Brandesburton, in medio chori, coram summo altari predictae ecclesiae. Item do et lego viginti marcas ad emendum quandam petram de

[14] The 'nova fabrica' above referred to, was that of the presbytery, including the lady chapel, and comprising the four easternmost bays of the choir of York minster, commenced by archbishop Thoresby, July 30th, 1361, and completed by him, probably, before his death in 1373.

marble, super corpus meum, et corpora Lorae nuper uxoris meae et Agnetis uxoris meae jacendam, cum tribus ymaginibus de laton[18] supra dictam petram parietis. Item do et lego ij cereos cerae ponderantes xij libras ad comburendum circa corpus meum, die sepulturae meae, videlicet unum ad capud et alterum ad pedes meos. Item lego et constituo octodecim torches ad comburendum circa corpus meum die sepulturae meae.

JOHAN FITZ DU ROY D'ENGLETERRE, Duc de Lancastre, MCCCXCVIII.—a' estre ensevelez en l'esglise cathedrale de Saint Poal de Loudres, pres de l'autier principals de mesme l'esglise, juxte ma treschere jadis compaigne Blanche illoques enterree. Jeo vueille et devise que apres mon trespassement mon corps demoerge desur la terre nemy enterrez pour quarante jours. Item jeo devise en ciere pour arder entour nom corps le jour de ma sepulture, primerement dis grosses cierges, en nom des dis comandementz de nostre Seigneur Dieu, contre les quelx j'ay trop malement trespassez, suppliant a mesme nostre Seigneur Dieux que ceste ma devocion me puisse remedier de tout cela que encountre les ditz comandentz ay moult sovent et trop malement fait et forfait; et que desuis yceulx dis soient mys sept cierges grosses, en memoir de sept eovres de charite, esqueulx j'ay este necgligent, et pour les sept mortiels peches; et dessus y ceux sept je vueille que soient mys cynk cierges grosses en l'onur des v plaies principalx nostre Seigneur Jehsu, et pour mes cynk scens, les quelx j'ay moult negligemment despendu, dount jeo prie a Dieu de mercy, et tout amont yceulx cierges jeo voille que soient mys trois cyerges en l'onur de la Benoite Trinitee, a le quele je me rende de tres toutes les malx qui fait ay, en suppliant de pardon et de mercy pour la mercie et pitee que de sa benigre grace il a fait pour la salvacion de moy et d'autres peechours. Et vueille bien que parentre les suis ditz cierges, soient mys entour mon corps morters de cire, tieulx et a tantz corne a mes ditz executours il plerra de y mettre—mes executeurs facent ordenner et establie en l'avant dit esglise de Seint Poul un chanterie de deux chappellains, a celebrer divine service en ycell a toutz jours pour m'alme et l'alme de ma dite nadgairs compaigne Blanche, et que a ceo sustenir perpetuelement soient donez et amortizaz certein terres et tenementz en Londres, des queulx la reversion est pourchasez a mons eops.

WILLIELMUS DE MELTON, miles, MCCCXCVIII.—ad sepeliendum in ecclesiâ omnium Sanctorum de Aston. Item lego xl libras cerae et vj torches circa corpus meum ardendas, et vestimenta alba pro vj hominibus tenentibus dictas torches et cuilibet capellano venienti ad exequias meas iiij^{d}.

JOHANNA, quae fuit uxor Donaldi de Hesilrigg, MCCCC.—Ad sepeliendum in ecclesiâ meâ parochiali. Item lego xxv libras cerae in quinque cereos conficiendas ad comburendum circa corpus meum ad exequias meas, et die

[18] This brass, though mutilated and largely covered by a pew, still exists in the choir of Brandesburton church. Notwithstanding the provisions of the will, it contains two figures only, viz.: those of the testator and his first wife Lora, whose effigy, as sometimes happened, was made to do duty both for herself and her successor. The figures are of life-size, but the head of sir John is gone, as is also nearly all of the inscription.

sepulturae meae. Item lego xiij torches, quolibet per se ponderante xiij libras cerae rosyn et weke, ad ardendum similiter ad exequias meas circa corpus meum in die sepulturae meae. Item lego pauperibus eosdem torches portantibus, videlicet cuilibet eorum per se iij ulnas panni russeti, precium ulnae xij^{d}.

JOHANNIS DEPEDEN, miles, ac dominus de Helagh, MCCCCII.—corpusque meum sacrae sepulturae jacere in ecclesiâ abbathiae de Helaghpark, si Deus ordinaverit, in medio chori ecclesiae ejusdem, videlicet juxta Elizabetham uxorem meam, cujus animae propicietur Deus. Et volo et ordino, quod tempore sepulturae meae et ministracionis corporis mei, sint ardentes circa corpus meum quinque cerei, et quod quilibet cereus continet in se quinque libras cerae. Et volo quod tempore predicto sint ardentes circa corpus meum viij torches, et quod octo homines pauperes sint ibidem tenentes dictos torches, et quod dicti homines sint vestiti in panno nigro, empto et facto sumptibus meis. Et volo quod dictae viij torches distribuantur in formâ sequenti, videlicet quod ij remanant dictae Abbathiae, et ij ecclesiae parochiali de Helagh, et ij ecclesiae parochiali de Thorparche, et alii ij ecclesiae parochiali de Burghwalays, ad divina servicia in eisdem ornanda. Et volo et ordino quod feretrum meum sit coopertum cum panno nigro laneo, et quod dictus pannus remaneat dictae domui de Helaghpark.

And now, in direct connexion with, and sequence to, such proofs of the universal custom of burning lights about the bodies of the deceased from the time of death to that of burial, as we have seen witnessed to by 'Offices' and 'Wills' alike, it may be well, perhaps,—as pointing clearly to the underlying beliefs which led up to, and maintained those practices—to turn from the actual torches and candles of which we have heard so much, to the 'instrumenta' in which some of them, at least, and especially those serving at the altar during the office of the mass, were fixed.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE PRESERVATIVE, AND DEMON DISPELLING PROPERTY OF LIGHT, AS FIGURATIVELY REPRESENTED IN MEDIEVAL CANDELABRA.

In no department of ancient metal-work, probably, shall we find more striking evidence of artistic skill, inventive genius, or symbolic expression displayed, than in that pertaining to the 'luminaria' of the church services. Most unhappily, however, scarce a single example of this once abundant class, of native manufacture, would seem to be remaining to us in England. We know, historically indeed, of some

few particular instances, but of the great bulk of those which once served and adorned our sanctuaries in well nigh incalculable profusion, the very memory has perished. Examples of ancient candelabra are now, for the most part, to be met with only in our museums, or in foreign galleries and churches, where many such, dating from the twelfth century, have not only been preserved, but remain in use. Of these, many beautiful and highly instructive illustrations may be seen in the *Annales Archéologiques*, of the late M. Didron; the *Bulletin Monumental*, of the late M. de Caumont; and the *Dictionnaire Raisonnée du Mobilier Francais*, of the late M. Viollet le Duc. However differing in other respects these may be, they will all be found to agree in this one particular, viz.:—That the several monsters represented thereon—lions, dragons, or other figures symbolical of the powers of darkness—are shewn as vanquished, and striving to flee away, and escape from, the presence of the light.—'Thou makest darkness that it may be night, wherein all the beasts of the forest do move. The lions, roaring after their prey, do seek their meat from God. *The sun ariseth, and they get them away together, and lay them down in their dens.*' Ps. civ., 20-22.

One of the very finest existing works of this kind is the magnificent altar candlestick of the cathedral church of St. Vitus at Prague, described and illustrated in vol. i., 197-200 of the *Mitt. Kunstdenkmale des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates* (Heider, Eitelberger und Hieser, Stuttgart, 1858). Of early thirteenth century date, apparently, its plan consists of a circular base, out of which rises an equilateral triangle with a projecting semi-circle applied to each face, the whole of which it so nearly absorbs as to leave only the points of the triangle visible. All these mouldings are very simply, but boldly and beautifully treated. Above this smooth and lustrous pediment rises a living mass of men and monsters. Three huge winged dragons, with heads and necks depressed and prone in pain and terror, rear their lizard-like bodies towards the central nozzle of acanthus leaves, which forms the socket for the candle; while six others, of less size, resting on their shoulders, with upturned and reversed heads, regard angrily three naked men who, seated astride of

them, in calm and assured confidence, place their hands in the mouths of as many lions. Above each point of the triangle, and between the dragons, three other figures, young, beautiful, sandaled, and clothed in richly girded tunics, place their feet with perfect unconcern within the jaws of two other dragons' heads, while resting their outstretched arms and hands upon their bodies. The aspect and attitude of all three figures is that of absolute fearlessness and domination.—'*Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, conculcabis leonem et draconem.*' Ps. xci. 13.

Very similar, in respect of its decorative and symbolic features to this of Prague, was the lower part of the great Paschal candlestick at Durham, 'esteemed,' as we are told, 'to bee one of the rarest monuments in England.' This—says the author of the *Rites*,[16] 'was wont to be sett upp in the Quire, and there to remain from the Thursday called Maundye thursday, before Easter, untill Wednesday after the Assention day, that did stand uppon a foure-square thick planke of wood against the first grees or stepp, hard behind the three basons of silver that hung before the High Altar. In the midst of the said greese is a nick wherein one of the corners of the said planke was placed, and at every corner of the planke was an iron ringe, wherunto the feete of the Pascall were adjoyned, representinge the pictures of foure flyinge dragons, as also the pictures of the four Evangelists above the tops of the dragons, underneath the nethermost bosse, all supportinge the whole pascall; and in the four quarters have beene foure christall stones, and in the four small dragons' four heads four christall stones, as by the holes doth appeare. And on everye side of the four dragons there is curious antick worke, as beasts and men, uppon horsbacks, with bucklers, bowes and shafts, and knotts, with broad leaves spred uppon the knotts, very finely wrought, all beinge of most fine and curious candlestick mettall comminge from it, three of everye side, wheron did stand in everye of the said flowers or candlestick a taper of wax. And on the height of the said candlestick or Pascall of lattine was a faire large flower, beinge the principall flower; which was the seventh candlestick. The Pascall in latitude did containe

[16] 15 Surtees Society publ. p. 8.

almost the bredth of the Quire, in longitude that did extend to the height of the vault, wherein did stand a long peece of wood reachinge within a mans length to the uppermost vault roofe of the church, wheron stood a great long square taper of wax called the Pascall, a fine conveyance through the roofe of the church to light the taper with all.'

And this account of the great 'Paschal' at Durham—the obscurity of its concluding words notwithstanding—brings us, at once, to the examination of that which, very similar, apparently, both in general design and decoration, is known as

'L'ARBRE DE LA VIERGE,' AT MILAN.

This famous work of the founder's and goldsmith's art, unquestionably the very finest of its kind, either at the present, or any previous period existing, is still preserved in beautiful perfection in the cathedral of Milan. It is of bronze gilt, and strengthened with an inner frame, or skeleton of iron. M. Didron, gives the following account of it. (*Annales Archéologiques* xvii., 243.) 'Cet arbre de métal a six mètres de hauteur; il est en fonte de bronze que couvre une patine comparable à celle des médailles antiques. L'adoration des Mages y occupe le nœud principal, comme on le voit; tous les autres sujets, signes du zodiaque, fleuves du paradis, création et chute de l'homme, expulsion du paradis terrestre, arts libéraux, vertus et vices, déluge, sacrifice d'Abraham, Moïse délivrant les Hébreux, David tuant Goliath, Assuérus couronnant Esther, tous sont à la racine de l'arbre, dans ces broussailles qui gardent, comme autrefois le jardin des Hespérides, les dragons qui servent de base à tout le monument. Malgré les admirable finesses de la gravure de M. Sauvageot, on ne voit pas, on ne peut pas voir une foule de petites têtes ou de petits animaux qui sortent de l'aisselle des feuille sou s'élancent à la pointe des rinceaux. C'est tout un monde en miniature. L'œuvre de fonte appartient surtout au pied et au nœud principal; l'œuvre d'orfévrerie est distribuée sur les autres nœuds, sur le tronc et toutes les branches. Sur cette écorce de métal, dans ce cannelures festonnées et dorées, sont serties par l'orfévre ou plutôt par le bijoutier un grand nombre de pierres précieuses de toutes couleurs, rondes ou plates, mais toutes sous forme de cabochons; du reste, le nœud de l'adoration des Mages,

qui nous avons donné au tiers de grandeur, montre parfaitement la forme de ces pierres précieuses et la manière dont elles sont enchâssées . . . . Ce chandelier étale sept branches, bien entendu, et porte sept larges plateaux sur lesquels on pose de gros cierges ou des lampes. Mais à chaque plateau principal, quatre plateaux plus petits font une espèce de collerette et portent quatre petits cierges. En tout, sept grosses lumières, ou sept planètes, pour ainsi dire, et vingt-huit étoiles plus petites. Pour un arbre aussi considérable, ce n'est pas une masse bien forte de lumière, et cependant, surtout aux office des morts, ainsi que je l'ai vu un jour dans le Cathédrale de Milan, cela brille comme le buisson ardent qui vit Moïse dans le désert.'

Of far more frequent occurrence, however, naturally, than the great and costly Easter candlesticks of the cathedral, and abbey churches, were those small, and comparatively speaking, inexpensive portable ones, belonging either to shrines for the exposition of relics, or to the several altars of churches of all kinds—even the humblest. Of these, many examples of early date have been happily preserved, varying, of course, greatly in respect of detail, but all following one general plan; all, more or less, admirable as illustrations of artistic skill and symbolical expression, and, perfectly adapted as they are to their special uses, offering the best possible models, or rather types, either for adoption, or adaptation among ourselves. Among those of this class, one of the earliest, and finest, perhaps, is that described by M. Didron in the tenth volume of his *Annales Archéologiques*, p. 141, belonging to a village church on the banks of the Moselle. Writing of it, he says—'Rien de plus commun que les reliquaires, même les chandeliérs, posés sur des corps d'animaux, lions, dragons, aigles, griffons. Aujourd'hui, nous publions précisément un chandelier de l'époque romane, dont les trois pattes sont faites de trois serres d'aigles qui saisissent une portion de sphère ovale. Si cette patte est bien la serre de l'aigle, la griffe de l'animal *souvrain* prend procession du globe des empereurs. Quant au pied proprement dit du chandelier c'est un composé de lezards, de dragons ailés qui se mordent et s'enlacent. Il y en a douze autour de ce petit triangle qui a juste 10 centimètres de côté. La bobèche est soutenue ellemême pas trois dragons, qui l'escaladent, sont à jour et forment comme

de petites anses. Il est probable que ce petit chandelier accompagnait, avec un ou trois autres, un reliquaire, quand on exposait et éclairait ce reliquaire sur un autel. On voit, en effet, gravé autour de la bobèche, entre les dragons à jour, l'inscription suivante, qui est mutilée malheureusement : MARTYR TRANSLATIO DE VASE CRUORE S . . . .

Two more examples only, designed more strictly for ordinary altar, or eucharistic service, however, than the preceding one, need here, I think, be noticed in illustration of this branch of the subject. Of much the same early character, they display, if with somewhat less artistic excellence, perhaps, not only the same general arrangement of parts, but a similar treatment of the same general, and universally dominant, idea. These too are given by M. Didron in the *Annales Archéologiques*, xviii. 160, 'Comme on le voit,' he says, 'la forme de ces chandeliers varie peu : un pied sur trois pattes de lion ou trois corps de dragon ; un nœud de feuillages ou de dragons enroulis ; une bobèche assez évasée arcboutée par trois ou quatre petites bêtes fantastiques qui resemblent à des dragons ou à des lezards ailés ; du pied au nœud et du nœud à la bobèche, tige absente ou tres-courte. Telle est la forme générale des chandeliers, petits, moyens, et grands, de l'époque romane ; forme charmante et qui a même séduit le xiii^e^ siécle mais en si simplificant. Les deux chandeliers ne manque pas d'intérêt, cependent ils ne valent pas, à beaucoup près celui qui a paru dans le volume x.'

But, to whatever class these various candelabra may belong—and the few examples above referred to, be it remembered, stand only as typical instances of countless others—whatever their respective artistic merits, or individual scheme of decoratively symbolic design may be ; the one clear, unmistakable lesson which they all alike, though in necessarily varying degrees, convey, is this, viz. :—The absolute and eventual triumph of light over darkness, of good over evil, of life over death, of God over 'the Dragon, that old serpent which is the Devil, and Satan.' That 'God is Light ;' and that all those who, having been 'delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the Kingdom of His dear Son,' are now 'no longer darkness but light in the Lord'—'all children of the light, and of the day,' and who 'walk in

the light,' shall, in like manner—'go upon the lion and adder, and tread the young lion and dragon under their feet.'

These various symbolical representations of the personal spiritual agents of the 'father of lies,' to whom 'the blackness of darkness is reserved for ever,' and not the servants of the 'true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world'—as the heathen of old so calumniously alleged—are seen in short, to be the true '*Lucifugax natio*.' 'For every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are done in God.'

In this connexion, however, it is very necessary to remember that the fire of the lights, thus used ceremonially in the divers offices of the church, was derived from no common or haphazard source; but, on the contrary, reverently produced and hallowed for the several purposes to which they were applied. No strange fire was allowed; only that which having beforehand been 'sanctified by the word of God and prayer,' exhibited thenceforth in figure the person and office of the Lord—'a light to lighten the Gentiles and the glory of His people Israel.' All other lights were derived from the great 'Paschal,' the emphatic emblem of that 'true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' So Durandus—'Secundo loco paschalis cereus benedicitur. Circa quod sciendum est, quod in principio officii totus in Ecclesia debet ignis extingui, & novus de lapide percusso cum calibe, vel ex crystallo soli objecto debet elici, & de sarmento foveri. Ignis vetus, veterem significat legem, cujus figurae in morte Christi completae fuere, et ideo velut extinctae cessare debuerunt: sed de lapide, id est, de Christo qui est lapis angularis, qui verbere crucis percussus. Spiritum sanctum nobis effudit, vel de crystallo inter solem & lunam mediante, id est, de Christo qui fuit mediator inter Deum & hominem, qui sicut ipse testatur, ignem in terram mittere venit, novus ignis elicitur, dum per ejus passionem vel resurrectionem Spiritus sanctus nobis effunditur, cui praebet alimentum sacramentum, id est, Christus qui est vitis vera Crystallus quoque perlucida est Christi, humanitas resurrectione splendidissima. Adhuc novus ignis ideo benedicitur, ut sicut ille, qui est lumen indeficiens, illuminans

omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum igne illuminavit Mosen: ita illuminet sensus & corda nostra, ut ex his tenebris ad lumen & vitam aeternam, meriamur pervenire. Nec est vana religio solenni processione, ad hujus ignis benedictionem exire, in quo meminisse debemus exeundum nobis esse ad illum quem Judaei extra castraejicerunt. Exeamus (inquit Apostolus) ad eum extra castra, improperium ejus portantes, & benedicimus illum cum cruce & aqua, ut nos in passione ejus per quem Spiritum sanctum accipimus totos esse significamus. Rursus extinctis Ecclesiae luminaribus, & igne de petra cum calibe excusso ignis aqua aspergitur benedicta, quia extinctis Apostolis, qui lumen mundi à Christo dicti sunt, de Christo petra excussus est ignis charitatis cum calibe lanceae vulnerantis, dum sanguis & aqua de ejus corpore sacro emanaverunt, à quibus habent efficaciam sacramenta quibus mediantibus in amore Domini inflammamur aqua gratiae perfusi. . . . Subsequenter benedicitur cereus ex institutione Zozimi, & Theodori primi Papae. . . . Benedicitur autem ideo quoniam ex simplici sui natura absque benedictione, non potest transire ad significationem mysterii columnae ignis de qua jam dicetur. . . .

Porro cereus, super columnam illuminatus, significat primo columnam ignis, quae praecedebat in nocte populum Israel, extinctus vero significat columnam nubis, quae praecedebat in die, prima quidem de nocte illuminans, & secunda in die refrigerans in qua Spiritus sanctus significabatur. Tenuit quidem in nobis columna nubis figuram humanitatis: columna ignis figuram divinitatis. . . .

In cereo etiam affigitur tabula seu charta scripta, quae significat tabulam, in qua Pilatus scripsit: Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum, quam vidimus Parisiis in capella Illustris Regis Francorum, una cum spinea corona, & ferro, & hastea lanceae, & cum purpura, qua Christum induerunt, & cum sindone, qua corpus fuit involutum, & spongia, & ligno crucis, & uno de ex clavis, & aliis reliquiis multis. Et cum cereus Christum significet, merito in dicta tabula inscribitur annus Domini tunc currens, cum ejus incarnatione, quia in cereo notat quòd Christus est annus antiquus, & magnus, plenus dierum. . . .

In quibusdam Ecclesiis additur alter cereus minor: primus major consecratur in personam Christi dicentis. Ego sum lux mundi, alter in persona Apostolorum, quibus ipse dominus inquit: Vos estis

lux mundi; uterque cereus praecedit cathecuminos, ad baptismum, & Apostoli nos ad terram promissionis. Item Christus per se illuminat ecclesiam, illuminat etiam illam per Apostolos, quorum praecepta diligenter intueri & observare debemus, quod ostenditur ex illuminatione aliorum cereorum, qui ab aliis duobus illuminantur. In plerisque vero ecclesiis duo alii parvi cirei accenduntur à majori, & statuitur unus ab una parte cerei benedicti, alius ab alia, qui significant sanctos novi & veteris testamenti qui per Christum illuminati sunt, and per doctrinam Apostolorum & Prophetarum, qui cum Christo concordant. Ecclesiae luminaria ex igne majoris cerei accenduntur, ad figurandum quod ignis Spiritus sancti à Christo procedit, & quòd non solum Prophetae & Apostoli, qui per duos cereos significantur, verumetiam omnes ecclesiae fideles à Christo illuminati sunt.' (Dur. *lib.* vi. *c.* lxxx. pp. 232 *dorso* and 233 *dorso.*) In connexion with which extracts from Durandus, may be taken the following from his master, Dom. Johannes Beleth—'Cereus a diacono benedici & consecrari oportet, non autem a sacerdote vel Episcopo, etiam si sint presentes, quantumvis majoris sint ordinis, & dignitatis. Per quod quidem intelligitur, quod Christus resurgens ex mortuis, primo sere obtulerit & ostenderit mulieribis, per quos, utpote quae erant sexus debilioris, gloriam suae resurrectionis Discipulis suis nunciavit. Sed nec illud temerè fecit Dominus. Nam quem ad modum principium mortis per foeminam in mundum intravit, ita quoque necessarium fuit, ut initium, nostrae restitutionis & salutis per mulierem mundo annunciaretur. (*c.* 102.)

Again ('in baptismo') (*c.* 110), we read—'Caereus in aquis ponitur, quod contactus corporis Christi in baptismate aquas sanctificaverit, & vim regenerandi illis contulerit. Representat autem caereus super columnam positus & accensus columnam ignis, quae nocte praecedebat filios Israel, quando Aegypto exeuntes intrarunt mare rubrum, in quo praefigurabatur baptismus, ut per desertum venirent in terram promissionis. Extinctus vero ostendit columnam nubis quae item eosdem praeibat interdiu. Columna enim tria praeibabat, protegebat namque, illos a sole, ab hostibus, & nocte eis lucem praebebat. Pari ratione Christus praecedens baptizatos, obumbrat eos contra in citamenta vitiorum, & protegit ab hostibus, scilicet a daemonibus,

& a mundanis cupiditatibus, atque illuminat per charitatem. Unde dicitur. Ignis consumens in nobis vitia.'

But helpful to the dead, and consolatory to the living, as such exhibition of the symbols of the Divine presence and protection attaching to lights might either be, or be esteemed—as well at, as after, the obsequies of the deceased—they constituted by no means the only way in which it was sought to protect them. They were to be both incensed and asperged.—'Adhuc licet in missa pro vivis debeant omnes turificari ad significandum, quod illorum orationes ad coelestia diriguntur, in missa tamen pro defunctis non debet tus per chorum portari, nec offerri, id est altare turificari, sed circa corpus tantum quia hoc in lege prohibitum fuit. Nullus ergo in hoc officio turrificatur, ad notandum, quod mortui nil amodo valent orationibus suis promereri unde Psal. Non mortui laudebunt te Domine. *Ipsa autem defunctorum corpora turrificantur, & aqua benedicta asperguntur*, non ut eorum peccata tollantur: quae tunc per talia tolli nequeunt, *sed ut omnis immundorum spirituum praesentia arceatur, & fiunt etiam in signum societatis, & communionis sacramentorum quam nobiscum dum vixerunt habuerant.*' (Dur. *lib.* vii. *cap.* 35, p. 300 *dorso.*)

And the same protective care and watchfulness, which had so diligently waited on them hitherto, attended them to their graves. Apart from such—at all times comparatively very few in number—as were interred within the church itself, those buried without, were not, as happens so commonly among ourselves nowadays, laid in some plot of common ground, merely fenced in and set apart for that purpose. Nor was it thought enough to accompany the act of separation by the performance of some such religious 'exercises,' merely, as might seem, in a general way, decorously 'appropriate to the occasion.' Something far more serious and practical in its import than functions of this sort were deemed needful. 'Coemeterium, quod eisdem gaudet privilegiis cum ecclesia,' says Durandus, '*consecratur, & benedictur. Benedictus autem ut ulterius desinat illic immundorum spirituum habitatio esse, et fidelium corpora ibi usque ad diem judicii requiescant in pace.*' (*Lib.* i. *cap.* 8, p. 27.)

Nor was this general consecration and benediction of the cemetery at large allowed to suffice. Whatever benefits might accrue therefrom

to the company of the faithful dead collectively, a special, personal protection was sought to be obtained for each one of them in particular. The separate graves were to be hallowed individually. The dead body, after being brought thereto, and other preliminary service said—'Deinde ponitur in spelunca, in qua in quibusdam locis ponitur aqua benedicta and prunae cum ture. Aqua benedicta ne daemones, qui multum eam timent ad corpus accedant . . . . Et in quocunque loco extra coemeterium Christianus sepeliatur, semper crux capiti illius apponi debet, ad notandum illum Christianum fuisse quia hoc signum diabolus valde veretur, & timet accedere ad locum crucis signaculo insignitum.' (Dur. *lib.* vii. *cap.* 35, p. 301 *dorso.*)

But, hallowing and protective as the presence of the great cemetery cross, like that of the cemetery, and church itself, might be to all at rest around it, still those whose means enabled them to do so, sought further means of defence against their ghostly foes by the erection of others, special and peculiar to themselves. To this large, varied and most interesting class of monuments, therefore, before proceeding to an examination of the further, and final, use of lights in this connexion, we will now betake ourselves.

Chapter V.

ON THE SIGN OF THE CROSS SET ABOVE, OR OVER, THE GRAVES OF THE DEAD.

Of the cross itself, as a sufficiently protective device, whether simply, or carrying the effigy of Christ, or sculptured with scriptural subjects as well, we have instances innumerable, from pre-Augustinian times[17] downwards. Its virtue was universally understood, and as

[17] Thus, Mr. Perret, in his fine work on the *Roman Catacombs*, gives the *chi-rho* as cut upon the stone of the martyr Marius, A.D. 117; as also on that of the martyr Alexander, in 161. And then, in our own country, among the gravestones of Wales and Cornwall, we find this sign occurring—apparently before the departure of the Romans in 410—on that of the tribune Honemimorus. Mr. Lysons also notes a highly curious and interesting one found at Pen Machno, in Caernarvon, with the *chi-rho* surmounting the inscription—CARAVSIVS HIC IACIT IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDVM, commemorating possibly, as some have thought, the famous usurper of that name, A.D. 287-293. Another, equally interesting, and supposed to be that of Sellyf, duke of Cornwall, A.D. 325, has the *chi-rho* very clearly cut, above the words SELIVS IC IACET. Then again, among those found on the west

universally applied. So Durandus (*lib.* v., *cap.* 2), 'sacerdos cum dicit: Deus in adjutorium meum intende, signo crucis se munit, ad effugandum illius virtutem scilicet quamlibet diaboli versutiam, & potestatem. Valde enim timet signum crucis.[18] Unde Chrysostomus: Ubicunque daemones signum crucis viderint, fugiunt, timentes baculum, quo plagam acceperunt.' In some form or other it hallowed and defended the graves of the dead in Christ, whether in the churchyard only, or in the church itself. For such as were too poor to erect a special grave stone for themselves, the shelter of the great cemetery cross sufficed, or was held to suffice, as a common family protection.[19]

coast of Scotland, is that existing at Stranraer, and which Scottish archaeologists attribute, with probable justice, to the fifth century. Within a large sunk circle, occupying the full breadth of the stone, and surmounted by the letters *Alpha* and *Omega*, is a boldly cut *chi-rho* above the inscription, HIC IACENT SCI ET PRAECIPVI SACERDOTES ID EST VIVENTIVS ET MAVORIVS.

Of those immediately succeeding the days of Augustine's mission, and dating from the seventh century onward, we have remains in abundance everywhere; one of the earliest, and for the present purpose, most interesting, being that of Owini, steward of queen Ethelreda, *c.* 680-90, now in Ely cathedral church, and thus inscribed: 'Lucem Tuam Ovino da Deus et requiem.'

[18] In the oaken lintel of the fireplace in Shakespeare's house at Stratford-on-Avon, was discovered about 1860, secreted in a deep augur hole carefully plugged, a little cross carved with a knife. It was embedded in coarse tow, among which were several grains of barley. The cross consisted 'of a plain quadrangular shaft, supported on a flat plinth, reached by four steps encompassing it on either side. It measured one and a quarter inch in height, and eight-tenths in diameter at the base, which retained traces of the cement wherewith it was probably once attached to some woodwork. Professor Quekett pronounced the material to be willow—a fact which at once established the origin, purpose, and, possibly, the date of the relic,' as witnessed by a rare tract, entitled: *A Dialogue or Familiar Talke betweene two Neighbours, from Roane, by Michael Wodde, the 20 February, 1554*, 12mo. After mentioning the various ceremonies practised in the church on Palm Sunday, it goes on to say—'the priest at the altar al this while, because it was tedious to be unoccupied, made crosses of palme to set upon your doors, and to beare in your purses, to chase away the divel—But tell me Nicholas, hath not thy wyfe a crosse of palme aboute her? (*Nich.*) Yes, in her purse. (*Oliver*) And agoon felowshippe tel me, thinckest thou not sometyme the devil is in her tongue? Syghe not man. (*Nich.*) I wold she heard you, you might fortune to finde him in her tong and fist both. (*Oliver*) Then I se wel he cometh not in her purse, because the holi palme crosse is ther; but if thou couldest entreate her to beare a crosse in her mouth, then he would not come there neither.' *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xvi., p. 330-32.

[19] So sweeping has been the obliteration of these beautiful and impressive monuments of ancient Christian faith and piety, that in the whole county of Durham, the broken shaft of one only, so far as I know, viz., that in my own churchyard of Witton-le-Wear, remains; though part, if not the whole, of another survived in that of the mother church of S. Andrew Auckland for some time after their general destruction, one Thomas Perkins, of Coundon, having, according to Hutchinson, desired burial in the churchyard there 'beside

But as we see, all the land over, those less closely restricted, sought habitually for some more purely personal and intimate defence—to lie more directly and immediately beneath its shadow. Nay, not even beneath, as usual, but occasionally within its sheltering arms. Of the many forms which the simpler and commoner grave crosses took, those of this class constitute one of the happiest and most expressive imaginable. Instead of the limbs simply intersecting, they are seen to expand at the point of junction into flower-like forms, which enfold, as it were, with a close embrace, the effigies of the deceased to their very heart and centre. Among the many examples of this sort may be instanced those at:—

AUCKLAND S. ANDREW, DURHAM, now a matrix only, but which once contained the figure of an early dean.

TORMARTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, *c.*1350, in memory of Sir John de la Riviére, who, as founder, carries the model of a fine cruciform church, with tower and spire, in his hands. This again, is, unhappily, merely a matrix.

EAST WICKHAM, KENT, where John de Bladingdone and his wife have their busts enclosed in the cusped and octofoiled head of the cross, *c.* 1325.

CHINNOR, OXFORDSHIRE, *c.*1320, where the tonsured head, neck, and hands only, of a priest are shown within a very beautifully floriated cross, the eight points of which are expanded into triplets of vine leaves.

the cross.' Very few unmutilated examples can now be met with anywhere, though an exceptionally fine and perfect one, with the scene of the crucifixion fully displayed, may be seen at Ampney Crucis, near Cirencester. It is of great height, and such importance as to have added its distinguishing suffix to the present name of the village. Still more striking and impressive than even this imposing monument, however, is the perfectly simple cross in the churchyard of Bag Enderby, Lincolnshire—a cluster of some six or eight thatched cottages, embowered among the grandest trees imaginable. The church—a small, but charming and untouched fourteenth century structure, sinking slowly to decay, —lies close at hand, and by the pathway leading to its porch, which it adjoins so nearly that all who enter in must pass beneath its shadow, stands the cross. Untouched, save only by the hoary tints of time, grey, solemn, awe-inspiring—colossal, indeed, in comparison with the adjoining lowly fane, it stands out like a 'strong rock and defence,' a very 'horn of salvation and refuge,' to all the unrecorded and forgotten dead that sleep around. It is only, perhaps, in the profound stillness and repose of such a spot as this, that all the peace and power of the churchyard cross can be fully felt—felt, but *not* expressed.

WOODCHURCH, KENT. Here the cross takes the form of a simple medallion—a circle—containing the inscription, whose outer lines curve off, ogee-wise into four fleurs-de-lys at the cardinal points, while the inner form a quatrefoil, within which is the diminutive effigy of a priest, Nichol de Gore, in eucharistic vestments, *c.* 1320.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL, where there is, or was, a small figure of a civilian, within the open head of a richly cusped and floriated octofoil cross, *c.* 1300.

STONE, KENT. An exceedingly fine, perhaps the very finest, example of monuments of this class. From a stepped base rises a stem with leaves springing from either side, while the octofoil, ogee-arched head, which is very large and richly cusped, has its points terminated in bold and diversified tufts of foliage. Within, is the finely drawn figure of John Lumbarde, rector, 1408. The Auckland brass has very closely resembled this.

TAPLOW, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. In S. Nicholas's church, here, is an elegant brass cross, with a long stem resting on a dolphin. It terminates in a head composed of eight ogee arches, alternately large and small, with beautiful finials, and enclosing a small male figure habited in hood, cape, and tunic reaching below the knees. The inscription runs:—'Nichole de Aumbedine iadis Pessoner de Londres gist ici. Dieu de Salme eit merci. Amen.'

Another, somewhat similar, but with the opening quatrefoiled instead of octofoiled, remains at BUXTED, SUSSEX, containing the three-quarter effigy of a priest, Britellus Avenel, *c.* 1375; and the like arrangement is found at MERTON college chapel, OXFORD, *c.* 1310; at GRAINSTHORPE, LINCOLNSHIRE, *c.* 1380; WIMBISH, ESSEX, 1374; HANBURY, STAFFORDSHIRE; and ST. MICHAEL'S, ST. ALBANS, *c.* 1400.

In the centre of the simple, but very beautiful grave-slab cross, laid down by Archbishop Chichele to his father and mother, at HIGHAM FERRARS, Northamptonshire, and where the extremities display the evangelistic symbols, the point of intersection is occupied by a medallion containing a seated figure of our Lord in glory, giving the benediction.

At CHELSFIELD, KENT, the grave cover of Robert de Brun, priest, has, instead of an effigy of the deceased, a small crucifix, with figures of SS. Mary and John on either side, and above a scroll inscribed—'Salus mea xpe est.'

In each of the above cases—types only of many others—we see the salutary power of the cross emphatically appealed to as the sole defence of the deceased, in full accordance with Durandus's sentence :—'In quocunque loco Christianus sepeliatur semper crux apponi debet, ad notandum illum Christianum fuisse, *quia hoc signum diabolus valde veretur et timet accedere ad locum crucis signaculo insignitum.*' *Lib.* vii. *cap.* 35.

CHAPTER VI.

OF DIVERS OTHER SYMBOLS.

Besides the sign of the cross, an immense variety of hallowing and protective devices are found both here and abroad. Among these is a very solemn and expressive one which, though seldom seen upon our English tombs, is yet common enough on those of France and Belgium —the Hand of Providence, or 'Dextera Dei,' seen issuing from clouds in benediction, and taking the bodies of those below, as it were, under its immediate protection.—'Whoso dwelleth under the defence of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.' An extremely fine and early example of this treatment occurs at—

SECLIN, near Lille, *c.* 1150, on the incised slab commemorating St. Piat, a companion of St. Denis, who was martyred about 286, by having the upper half of his head struck off, which he is shewn carrying in his hands.

JAKEMINS DOXNEN, his wife and son, 1344, at Brussels, are shewn all three lying side by side, beneath a rich triple canopy. The son, who was a priest, is in full eucharistic vestments, and carries the chalice on his breast. The Divine Hand appears above the head of each.

JOHAN and ARNOTT DE PARFONDRIEU, Fremalle Grande, 1413. A much injured, but once very fine slab, in memory of two brothers

german, of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the white cross of which appears upon their breasts, while the Hand of God, again surmounting the head of each, bestows His benediction.

Another class of these defensive symbols is found both in sculptured and incised tombs, though, from the nature of the case, much more frequently in the latter than the former, in the shape of censing angels, about, or above, the heads of the deceased.[20] In the earlier and simpler monuments, these angels are always shown censing the effigies exhibited thereon: in the later and more elaborate, the Divine Personages whether of the Holy Trinity, God the Father, or our Lord, who occupy the centre part of the tabernacle work overhead. One of, if not *the* earliest, of our English examples, may be seen in the sculptured monument of—

BISHOP BARTHOLOMEW ISCANUS, 1159-1184, in the Lady chapel of Exeter cathedral, where they appear in the spandrils of the sharply pointed arch which forms the canopy of his head, on a very small and insignificant scale. That of—

ARCHBISHOP WALTER GREY, 1215-1255, in the south transept of York minster, also sculptured, has censing angels at the head, while the end of his staff pierces the dragon at his feet.

BISHOP BRIDPORT, 1256-1262, whose sculptured effigy, like that of Archbishop Grey, reposes beneath a most beautiful canopy, in the south-eastern transept aisle of Salisbury cathedral, has also his head supported by two censing angels.

BISHOP WILLIAM DE KILKENNY, 1255-1257, in the choir of Ely cathedral, again, has his head similarly supported.

KING JOHN'S effigy, 1216, in the choir of Worcester cathedral, has the head supported on either side by the figure of a bishop, holding a thurible or censer, and, doubtless, intended to represent SS. Oswald and Wulfstan, between whose shrines he was interred. Although shewn in effigy vested, as he was actually buried, in royal robes,

[20] 'Ipsa autem defunctorum corpora turrificantur . . . . ut omnis immumdorum spirituum praesentia arceatur.' Dur. *lib.* viii. *c.* 35. 'Fumus enim incensi valere creditur ad daemones effugandos.' *Lib.* 4. *c.* 10. The actual censing took place during the burial office, the pictorial representation afterwards, and as a further and abiding safeguard.

and with the crown upon his head, the latter, as appeared upon the opening of the tomb, was really enveloped in the cowl of a Benedictine monk, buckled beneath the chin with straps. Like those afterwards—

'Who to be sure of Paradise,
Dying, put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or in Franciscan, thought to pass disguised.'

The effigy of a LADY of the HACCOMB family, under the first mural arch on the north side of Haccomb church, Devonshire, *c.* 1330, has also the head similarly supported.

Of the second, or incised class, whether in brass or stone, we have examples on the grave covers of—

BISHOP WILLIAM DE BITTON, probably, Wells cathedral, south side of choir, 1267-1274.

THIEBAUZ RUPEZ, *c.* 1260, at S. Memmie, near Chalons-sur-Marne, who is shewn riding out hawking, and accompanied by dogs, while overhead, and above the crocketed canopy, are two angels of considerable size, holding incense boats and swinging censers.

HUES LIBERGIER, 1263, the famous architect of the church of St. Nicaise at Reims, esteemed to have been the culminating work of Gothic art in France, as well as probably also, more or less, of the great cathedral there, where his grave slab, removed from the former building, now lies, and on which two large censing angels appear in the uppermost corners above the canopy — an exceedingly fine and impressive work.

LEWIS BEAUMONT, bishop of Durham, Durham cathedral, 1318-1333.—'Under a most curious and sumptuous marble stonn, which hee prepared for himselfe befor hee dyed, beinge adorned with most excellent workmanshipp of brasse, wherein he was most excellently and lively pictured—with two angells very finely pictured, one on the one side of his head, and the other on the other side, with censors in theire hands censinge him, &c.' *Rites of Durham* (Surt. Soc. publ.), pp. 12-13.

AGNES DE SAINT AMANT, 1296, Rouen. A very rich and fine work. Beneath a trefoiled canopy are two angels attending her, one on either side the head, while above are two others of much larger size, holding censers.

In all the preceding examples, be it noted, the angels are shewn censing the effigies of the deceased. In the following, and later ones, where rich masses of tabernacle work, in one or more stages, appear above their heads, the angels are censing the figure of the Holy Trinity, God the Father, or our Lord, either singly, in His mother's arms as a child, or, as in a Pieta, dead, and laid across her knee as just taken down from the cross.—'Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense.'

EUDELINE DE CHAUBRANT and her two daughters, 1338, Chalons-sur-Marne. A very fine and elaborate work. The three effigies are shown under as many traceried canopies. In the spandrils between the canopies is seen, to the left centre above the clouds of heaven, God the Father, holding the three souls in a sheet;[21] to the right a kneeling angel holding three crowns; and in the half spandrils at the sides, angels swinging censers in mid-air. Beneath the

[21] This scene, which is commonly, but quite erroneously, described as Abraham's bosom, is variously represented on monuments. Thus, on that of Marie de Mondidier, 1317, at Evreux, two kneeling figures, neither winged nor nimbed hold up the soul of the deceased, which is fully vested, in the apex of the canopy, while two winged and nimbed angels of much larger size swing censers on either hand, no divine personage whatever appearing.

In that of Berger Petersen Brahe and his wife, the parents of the famous S. Birghitta or Briget, 1328, at Upsala, God the Father, who occupies the central niche above the head of each, holds their respective souls in a sheet, while two attendant angels in either case swing their censers before Him. A similar treatment is seen on that of Gile de Pegorre, canon and subchanter of Reims cathedral, 1377; of Katherine van Nethinem, 1459, at Louvain; and of Johan Mingen and his wife, 1486, at Chalons sur Marne.

In the magnificent brass of king Eric Menved and queen Ingdeborg, 1319, in the cathedral of Ringstead, the souls of each, fully robed, are held in large sheets by two angels respectively, two others swinging censers, standing to the right and left of them; but again there is no divine personage represented.

In the equally splendid brass of bishops Ludolph and Henry de Bulowe, 1339-1347, at Schwerin, the souls of the two brothers are shown respectively as two small naked figures, standing in the lap of God the Father, who holds them with his left hand, while the right is raised above their heads in blessing. Censing angels again appear on either side.

On the corresponding brass of the two other brothers, viz.: Godfrey and Frederic de Bulowe, 1314 and 1375, also at Schwerin—if possible, still more elaborate, perhaps, than the other—their souls appear naked, and held between the clasped or folded hands of the Almighty, adoring angels accompanying, one on each side.

On that of the two bishops, Burchard de Serken, 1317, and John de Mul, 1350, at Lübeck—perhaps the most elaborately magnificent brass ever executed—the souls, which occupy the central canopies, immediately above the heads of each effigy, are held in long sheets, or webs of linen, passing over the shoulders of two saints at either end, and which are so depressed in the centre as to appear like funnels or jelly-bags. Two other saints, with musical instruments, are also shown, one on each side, beyond. Above, in the highest row of tabernacles,

mother's feet, in the midst, are shewn a coffin covered with a rich pall, with tall candles at the head and feet, and in the midst, a cross. To the left and right, beneath the daughter's feet, six priests chanting the funeral service.

GILE DE PIGORRE, 1377, Reims, canon and subchanter of the cathedral. He is shewn in simple eucharistic vestments: God the Father, in the central tabernacle of the canopy, holding his soul in a sheet, while two angels, occupying the highest niches of the supports on either side, swing their censers upwards to his feet.

WALTER PESCOD and his wife, 1398, Boston, Lincolnshire. His gown is powdered with peas-cods and flowers. Effigies beneath a large square canopy, the central niches of which contained figures of our Saviour and attendant angels, with censers, now lost.

ABBOT DE LA MARE, presbytery of St. Alban's abbey church. The rich canopy of this 'by far the finest ecclesiastical brass in England' is surmounted by tabernacle work containing the figure of our Saviour enthroned and attended by angels carrying thuribles and instruments of music. Becoming prior of Tynemouth he was translated thence, in 1349, to the abbey of the mother house of S. Albans, where he died in 1396. His tomb was prepared under his own superintendence, during his lifetime.

those in the centre are occupied by enthroned figures, either of our Lord, or of the Almighty Father; on each side of whom are censing angels, while others, bearing candles, appear outside of all.

In the very fine brass of Proconsul Albert Hövener, 1357, at Stralsund, the soul, naked, is supported by the right hand of the Father, upon His right knee. Censing angels attend, as usual, to the right and left.

On that of Johan von Zoest and his wife, 1361, at Thorn, the souls of each are represented as naked, and standing in sheets, which are also, as in the case of bishops Serken and Mul, at Lübeck, exceedingly depressed towards the middle, as to resemble bags or pockets. Each is sustained at the extremities by two angels, two others, holding candles, being placed outside them. In each case, the figure of God the Father occupies the central niche of another row of tabernacles overhead.

The souls of John de Heere, 1332, and Gerard de Heere, 1398, commemorated on the same brass at Brussels, are seen held, respectively, in a sheet by a figure seated in the central niche of their several canopies, and who, in each case, is supported by SS. Peter and Paul, two angels and two other saints appearing in the niches next adjoining. Here, from the absence of the customary censing angels, Abraham's bosom may, perhaps, very naturally be intended.

Finally, in the very rich and fine brass of bishop Andreas, 1479, at Posen, God the Father (or the Son?) with a cruciform nimbus, is shown seated on a throne beneath a rich canopy, and holding the naked soul in a small napkin with both hands, while kneeling angels, swinging censers, worship on either side.—'The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and there shall no torment touch him.'

Chapter VII.

OF YET FURTHER PROTECTIVE, OR PRESERVATIVE SYMBOLS.

In addition to the cross, either separately, or in connexion with it, other representations of sacred persons, or things, were frequently introduced with the object of still further defending the sepulchres of the dead from the pollution of evil spirits, thus:—

On the canopy of the tomb of the Black Prince, in Canterbury cathedral, and looking down upon his effigy, is seen a picture of the Holy Trinity, reverenced by him always, we are told, with 'peculiar devotion,' and on whose feast day he died.

On that of bishop Stapledon's tomb, in Exeter cathedral, is a vast figure of Christ with pierced hands raised to bless, and his wounded feet resting on the globe of the earth. The sculptured effigy of the bishop, fully vested, lies immediately below.

In Bredon church, Worcestershire, is an obtusely pointed grave cover of a man and his wife, probably of the Reede family. From a stepped base rises a cross ragulée supporting the canopies which surmount the busts of the deceased, and carrying the crowned and crucified figure of our Lord. On the transverse bar, which cuts short the busts, are seen their souls in the shape of two doves.

At Stoke Charity church, Hampshire, the brass of Thomas Hampton and his wife has above their effigies a representation of the Holy Trinity; the Father, enthroned, beneath a canopy, holding with His left hand the cross with the Saviour, and blessing with the right; while, resting on the cross to the left of our Lord's head, appears the Holy Spirit like a dove. On scrolls proceeding from the mouths of the deceased are engraved:—'Pat. de celis de. miserere nobis,' 'and 'Scâ tintas un. de. miserere nobis.'

Within the Salisbury shrine or chapel, in the choir of Christ Church priory, Hampshire, on the great central boss of the vaulting, is a sculptured figure of the Holy Trinity, in the form of God in three Persons, surrounded by cherubim, and with the foundress kneeling humbly in the front. Her carefully constructed grave, together with that of her son, cardinal Pole, lies directly underneath.

At EXETER cathedral, in the small chapel of S. Radegund, constructed by bishop Grandisson in the thickness of the screen of the west front, is sculptured in the roof, above the site of his now destroyed tomb, a figure of the Saviour in low relief with the right hand raised in benediction. From holes in the stone vault, lamps were formerly suspended. Owing to the peculiar nature of the position, the altar stood, in this case, towards the south.

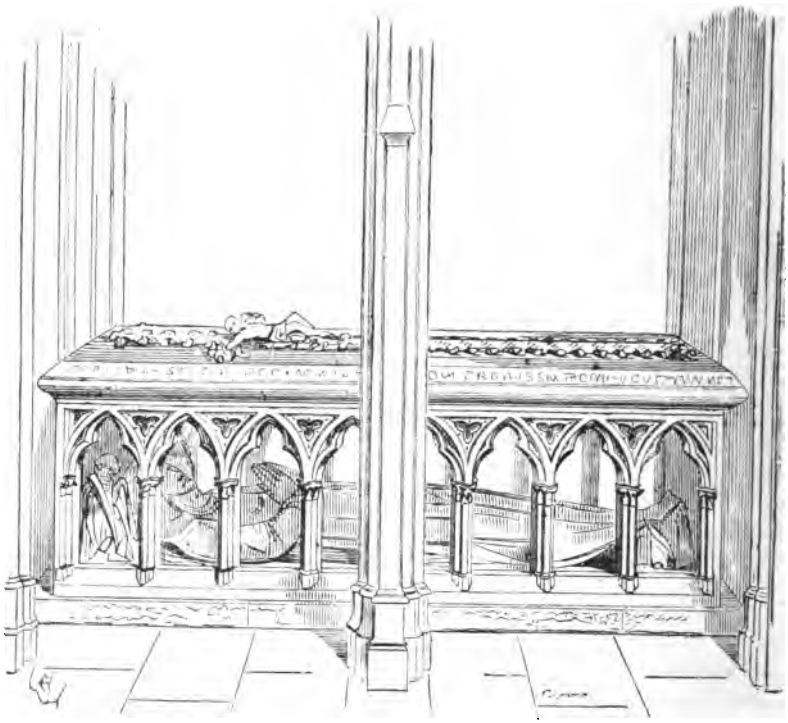
In WIKE church, near Winchester, the brass of William Complyn, 1499, is surmounted by a gigantic figure of S. Christopher, who, staff in hand, is shown crossing the river. The infant Christ upon his shoulder appears, through the mistake of the engraver, holding the cross in His right hand, and with His left raised in benediction.—'When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee.'

In HEREFORD cathedral, the canopy of the fine early tomb of bishop Peter de Aquablanca, 1239-1268, which has three sharply-pointed traceried gablets lengthways, has the two exterior ones finished with rich floriated crosses only. That in the centre differs from them in displaying the crucifix in high relief.

In the RIVERS chapel, S. Nicholas's church, Macclesfield, the brass of Roger Legh and his wife, 1506, display labels proceeding from the mouths of each, and inscribed respectively: 'A damnatione perpetua libera nos Domine,' and, 'In die judicii libera nos Domine.' Above their heads is shown an altar on which are a chalice and missal. Before it kneels a figure wearing a triple crown encircled by a nimbus, and clad in eucharistic vestments; while behind, appears the majestic figure of the Saviour rising from the tomb, and, with uplifted hands, displaying the wounds of His passion. (The scene is known as the Mass of S. Gregory.)

At S. LAWRENCE'S church, Ludlow, in the south aisle of the nave, is a grave cover which had a brass inscription round the edge, with the evangelistic symbols in the corners. Up the centre was a cross carrying the image of Christ crucified, with a label over; and at the bottom, two kneeling figures with labels proceeding from their mouths, with others containing prayers scattered on each side.

Somewhat similar, in general design and intention, was a very fine and interesting tomb to the north of the high altar of the abbey church of Longpont, figured by M. V. le Duc, in his Dictionary of French Architecture, ix., p. 51, and here reproduced. Nothing could show more conclusively than this the protection sought for the dead body from the presence of the crucifix, which covers it completely,



TOMB IN ABBEY CHURCH OF LONGPONT. FRANCE.

and beneath which the effigy, forming the actual coffin lid, is laid. 'C'est celui d'une femme. L'effigie de la morte n'est plus placée sur la crédence qui recouvre la place de la sépulture, mais sous cette crédence ajourée, tandis qu'un crucifix richement décoré est déposé sur la crédence. Voyez la collection de Gaignières. *Bibl. Bodleienne d'Oxford.*'

'Dans le cimetière qui entoure encore l'église de Montréale (Yonne), on remarque,' says M. V. le Duc, 'plusieurs tombes dont voici la forme. Cette pierre, en façon de comble croisé, recouvre, sur des cales, la sepulture . . . . . Quant au pignon de l'extrémité anterieure, il est muni d'une petite niche avec coupelle formant bénitier.' vol. ix., p. 45. Another, and striking proof, of which we would seem to have few, if any, examples in England, of the anxiety of the dead for the preservation of their bodies from demoniacal defilement. 'Aqua benedicta,' says Durandus, 'ne daemones qui multum eam timent, ad corpus accedant.' (*Lib.* vii., *c.* 35.)

At S. ALBAN'S abbey, the vault beneath the monument of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, has its eastern wall painted with the subject of the crucifixion in front of the body of the defunct. Here then, we see a still further step—the protective symbols being transferred into the grave, and thus serving as a connecting link between those above the surface, and such as are found either upon, or within, the coffins themselves. Of this further class, there have, of late years, been discovered, both at home and abroad, but especially in the north of France, many very curious examples; though, of course, the great bulk of the simpler and more perishable kinds have left no traces of themselves behind whatever. We come then, in natural sequence, to an examination of instances of this further class.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROTECTIVE SYMBOLS FOUND EITHER UPON, OR INSIDE, THE COFFINS THEMSELVES.

Of this, a very simple and natural illustration—common, probably, to all sorts and conditions of men, but especially among the poor—was discovered at Canterbury cathedral. Here, when in 1832, the tomb of king Henry IV. was partially opened, the workmen came upon the outer of the two leaden coffins in which the royal body was enclosed. On sawing through this they came upon a 'thick layer of hay, on the surface of which lay a rude cross of twigs.' Below, and within the inner coffin, the king's face—the only part which was exposed—was seen. It remained unfallen, fresh, full, and perfectly preserved.

In the minster close at LINCOLN, there was found in 1847, within a stone coffin, a cruciform plate of lead, thus inscribed:—'corpus: sifordi: presbiteri: sce: elene: et sce: margarete: titvlatvs: hic: jacet.' The forms of the letters indicated the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. Besides this English example, a considerable number of similar cruciform leaden plates have been discovered in the graves of the bishops of Metz.

In the cathedral of BRUGES, the magnificent brass of Joris de Munter and his wife, 1439 and 1423, shews them both wrapped in winding sheets with large thin crosses of equal limbs laid upon their breasts. These crosses represent others of like size and proportion, formed of metal, which were placed upon the bodies after they were laid in their brick graves.

At LACOCK abbey church, Wiltshire, when the tomb of the foundress, the famous Ela, countess of Salisbury, was violated, there were found, among other things, her cross and beads, buried with her. These have now been, after long exposure, lost or stolen.

At BURY S. EDMUND'S abbey church, in 1772, the embalmed body of Thomas Beaufort, third son of John of Gaunt, half-brother to King Henry IV., duke of Exeter, K.G., Lord Chancellor, and High Admiral of England, was discovered in a leaden coffin, as freshly preserved as on the day of its interment. The precious golden crucifix enclosed with the body was stolen.[22]

[22] The circumstances attending the discovery of the body of this great prince and warrior, who commanded the English rear-guard at the battle of Agincourt, exhibit, as we learn from a contemporary authority resident on the spot, a degree of callous and disgusting brutality well nigh incredible. He died in 1427, and his leaden coffin was discovered on February 20th, 1772, at the entrance to the Lady chapel.—"On the 24th, the remains were enclosed in an oak coffin and buried close to the north side of the large north-east pillar which formerly supported the belfry.

Before its re-interment, the body was cut and mangled with the most savage barbarity by Thomas Gery Callum, a young surgeon in this town, lately appointed Bath king at arms. The skull sawed in pieces (where the brain appeared, it seems, somewhat wasted, but perfectly contained in its proper membranes); the body ript open from the neck to the bottom; the cheeks cut through by a saw entered at the mouth; his two arms chopt of below the elbows, and taken away—one of the arms the said Callum confesses to have in spirits; the crucifix, supposed a very valuable one, is missing.

It is believed the body of the duchess was found within about a foot of the duke's, on the 24th of February. If she was buried in lead, she was most likely conveyed away clandestinely the same night."

At HEREFORD cathedral, when the wooden coffin of Johanna de Bohun, who died in 1327, was exposed to view in the Lady chapel, linen crosses of cross-crosslet form were, it is stated, found laid upon the lid of it.

But, by far the most ancient and curious protective devices of this sort were those discovered in the earlier part of last century, at HARTLEPOOL, in the graveyard of the ancient monastery, and dating from the seventh century. There, the heads all rested on small flat stones, as upon pillows, while above them were others of a larger size marked with crosses and inscriptions in Saxon and Runic letters.

Very similar, in all respects, to these at Hartlepool, were two found at S. BRECAN'S, in the Isle of Arran. On one is shown a cross in a circle, with the inscription, 'ci brecani,' inscribed between the four limbs. On the other, which has a cross of similar design, is cut 'uii romani,' in memory of seven Roman ecclesiastics, there interred. S. Brecan is thought to have died early in the sixth century, and the stone of the Romans is evidently of the same date as his.

At WENSLEY church, Yorkshire, is another stone, very similar to those at Hartlepool, found many years ago in the churchyard. It has, in slight relief, a fimbriated Maltese shaped cross, with two birds and two fantastic animals between the four limbs, while underneath is the name Donfrith. This stone measures 15½ by 9 inches; while the Hartlepool ones range from 11½ by 10, to 7½ by 5½ inches, and vary in thickness from one inch to 4¾ inches.

Of still greater interest even than these, however, were the contents of the coffin of S. CUTHBERT, as disclosed on the opening of his grave in 1827.* Besides the original coffin within which the body was placed in 698, and which was itself covered all over with figures of our Lord and other sculptures, there were found inside, a small wooden altar plated with silver, richly engraved with cruciform devices, and a burse, or small linen bag, for containing the sacramental elements, laid upon his breast. About his neck, and suspended by a cord of silk and gold, was, moreover, his pectoral cross of gold set with garnets.

* See Raine's *Saint Cuthbert*.

No sooner had S. Cuthbert expired—according to the anonymous monk of Lindisfarne—than the brethren washed his body from head to foot, and wrapped it in a cere-cloth, enveloping his head with a face cloth, or napkin. Thereupon they clothed him in priestly vestments, placing the sacramental elements upon his breast—'*oblatis super sanctum pectus positis*'—and sandals upon his feet. Although, in strictness, the word *oblata* refers to the species of bread *only*, Dr. Lingard is of opinion that both elements were deposited in the coffin. (*Antiq. Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 268).

When on August 29th, 1104, the relics of S. Cuthbert were solemnly translated to his new shrine within the apse of the Norman cathedral, the monks, we are told by an anonymous author, 'replaced in his coffin the other things which they had found along with him, namely, an ivory comb and a pair of scissors, still retaining their freshness, and as became a priest, a silver altar, a linen cloth for covering the sacramental elements, a paten, a chalice, small in size, but from its materials and workmanship, precious, its lower part representing a lion of the purest gold, which bore on its back an onyx stone, made hollow by the most beautiful workmanship, and by the ingenuity of the artist, so attached to the back of the lion that it might be easily turned round with the hand, although it might not be separated from it.' Reginald also corroborates this evidence. 'Moreover he has with him, in his coffin, an altar of silver, a cloth for covering the sacramental elements, a golden chalice with a paten, and a pair of scissors retaining their original freshness. These are placed in his coffin, upon a tablet standing in a transverse direction at his head, where, along with his ivory comb, they are hitherto preserved.' —*Reginald. Dunelm. cap.* xlii. (Surt. Soc. publ.).

At HEXHAM abbey church, Lingard tells us, when the grave of bishop Acca was opened about the year 1000, a similar altar to that found within the coffin of S. Cuthbert, made of two pieces of wood fastened with silver nails, and bearing the inscription:—'Alme Trinitati, agie sophie, sancte marie,' was found deposited upon his breast in precisely the same way.

At YORK minster, sometime in the early part of the last century, three graves of early archbishops were opened. From them were

abstracted as many chalices and patens of silver, now gilt. Of these, while one is plain, the second has both chalice and paten engraved; the one on the foot, with the crucifixion; the other with the 'Dextera Dei' superimposed upon a cross within a circle, in the centre. The third set was distinguished by a remarkable addition—a partially burnt wax taper, broken in two, and laid cross-wise on the archbishop's breast.

In S. SEPULCHRE'S churchyard, Norwich, was found, some years since, a small silver cross, with cells for relics, the face engraved with the crucifixion, and, on the back, the symbol of the passion.

In CHICHESTER cathedral, June, 1829, were found, between the piers of the north and south arches of the choir, two coffins of Sussex marble with flat polished lids, on which appeared croziers placed diagonally, with the volutes to the left shoulder. Within that on the north side lay a skeleton amidst the remains of episcopal vestments. A silver chalice, gilt inside, and a paten, in the centre of which was engraved a hand in the gesture of benediction, between a crescent and a star, lay on the right shoulder; the head of the actual crozier, as on the lid, resting on the left. This was supposed to be the tomb of bishop Seffrid, who died in 1151. In the other coffin were the remains, as was supposed, of his successor, bishop Hilary, who died in 1169. The crozier was placed as in the preceding case; and again on the right shoulder was found a silver chalice parcel-gilt, and a paten, in the centre of which was engraved an *Agnus Dei*. In a third coffin, on which the crozier was represented as erect, it lay parallel to the right side, but there was neither chalice nor paten.

A fourth bishop, Godfrey, who died in 1088, and was buried in the Paradise, within the cloisters, trusted rather to a Papal absolution engraved on a leaden plate, measuring seven and a half by five inches, which was buried with him, and, expanded, read as follows:—'Absolvimus te Godefride episcope vice Sancti Petri principis apostolorum cui dominus dedit ligandi atque solvendi potestatem, ut quantum tua expetit accusatio et ad nos pertinet remissio sit tibi deus redemptor ompnis salus omnium peccatorum tuorum pius indultor. Amen. vii. kal. Octobris in Festivitate sancti Firmini episcopi et martiris obiit Godefridus episcopus Cicestrensis. Ipso die v. lunae fuit.'

At BOUTEILLES, in Normandy, the late M. l'abbé Cochet found, during his explorations, in 1857, five crosses of this description, his account of which, (*Bull. Mon.* xxv. p. 274) is here reproduced: 'Cette croix, que nous reproduisons à moitié de sa grandeur, était placée sur la poitrine du mort, le haut d'inscription dirigé vers la tête, et le côté écrit tourné vers le ciel. Ella contenait la formule suivante :

"*Dominus Iehesus Christus, qui dixit discipulis suis quodcumque ligaueritis super terram erit ligatum et in celis et quodcumque solueritis super terram erit solutum et in celis de quorum numero licet indignos nos esse voluit ipse te absoluat, Berrengarine, per ministerium nostrum ab omnibus criminibus tuis quecumque cogitatione locutione, operatione negligenter egesti atque nexibus absolutum perducere dignetur ad regna celorum qui uiuit et regnat, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*"

La seconde croix, trouvée sur la partie haute de la poitrine d'un défunt, est d'une forme plus soignée et plus élégante que les autres. . . . . Le plomb étant d'une qualité inférieure, l'inscription s'est fort mal conservée ; M. L. Delisle n'a pu déchiffrer que ces quelques mots : "*In nomine Patris. . . que dixit discipulis. . . nos esse voluit ipse te absoluat. . .*"

La troisième croix, trouvé était sur la poitrine, le haut de l'inscription dirigé vers la tète, et le côté de le l'écriture tourné vers le ciel. . . Nous la reproduisons en entier: *Absolve, Domine, animam famuli tui B. ab omni vinculo delictorum ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos ressuscitatus respiret.*

La quatrième . . . contient la formule d'absolution qui suit :

"*Dominus Iehesus Christus qui dixit discipulis suis quodcumque ligaueritis super terram erit ligatum et in celis et quodcumque solueritis super terram erit solutum et in celis, de quorum numero licit indignos nos esse voluit ipse te absoluat per ministerium nostrum ab omnibus peccatis tuis quecumque locutione, cogitatione negligenter egisti ipse te absoluat.*"

La cinquième est véritablement la plus originale et la plus remarquable sous tous les rapports ; car ici, ce n'est plus seulement une formule d'absolution, ou d'oraison quelconque c'est aussi une formule

de confession à laquelle vient s'ajouter une prière absolutoire. . . . Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, cette croix contient un *Confiteor*, dont voici la formule parfaitement déchiffrée par M. L. Delisle.

"*Confiteor Deo et omnibus sanctis ejus et tibi pater, quid peccavi nimis in legem Dei quecumque feci cogitando, loquendo, operando, in pollutione, in meditatione, in opere, in consensu et in omnibus vitiis meis malis, ideo precor, pater, ut ores pro me ad Dominum Deum nostrum.*"

Le *Misereatur*, qui suit le *Confiteor*, ne s'est pas laissé lire aussi complètement. . . Voici donc ce que l'on a pu déchiffrer : "Misereatur tui omnipotens et dimittat tibi peccata tua preterita, presentia et futura, *liberet te ab omni malo conservet et confirmet in omni opere bono et ad vitam perducat aeternam.* . . . . ."

Toutes sont en plomb et decoupées à l'aide de ciseaux, à même une feuille de ce metal . . . . Toutes ont le type général de Malte.'

Now, in all these cases of written and engraved forms of plenary absolution interred with the body, and laid on the breast, face uppermost, 'towards heaven,' what was, and, indeed, could be, the only possible—nay conceivable, end and object? For the weal and salvation of the soul, they could manifestly avail nothing, since spiritual effects must necessarily flow from purely spiritual causes. The *pronounced* absolution was clearly all that either was, or could be, available in such respects. Why then, the written form engraved upon a cross—that figure which evil spirits so greatly feared—and laid upon the breast of, and interred along with the dead body—why, but to secure the same defence and protection to that body, which the spiritual sentence did to the spirit departed thence? Could clearer or stronger proof of motive than that afforded by these, and other kindred instances, be either asked for, or desired?

Other historical notices of the like practice are also adduced by M. l'abbé Cochet in the same treatise. Thus he adds :—'*Dans la Vie de saint Ansbert évêque de Rouen* (689-95 ou 707), on lit que ceux qui ouvrirent son tombeau "*invenerunt in brachiis ejus signum Dominicae crucis similitudinem gerens*"——.'

'En 1856 on trouva une croix de plomb, dans le cimetière de l'église de S. Martin de Louviers. Cette croix rappelle assez bien celles

d'Edmunds-Bury où l'on trouve : "*Crux Christi pellit hostem : Crux Christi triumphat.*"

Le 3 décembre 1850, on a trouvé dans la cathédrale d'Angers, tout près du maître autel, le cercueil de plomb de Marie de Bretagne, épouse de Louis 1er., duc d'Anjou, et grand mère du roi René, decedée en 1404. Le cercueil étant ouvert, on aperçut une croix, dont le pédoncule était en bois et la traverse en cuir ; elle reposait sur la poitrine et s'élevait jusqu'au milieu du visage. Cette croix avait cinq taches rouges : l'une à ses bras, les autres à son sommet, sur son milieu et au pieds.

Le célèbre Lebrun des Marettes, racontant, dans ses *Voyages Liturgiques*, les coutumes pratiquées à Fontevrault, à propos des sépultures, dit que l'on enveloppait le corps dans un long voile, ou suaire, qui était cousu depuis les épaules jusqu'au bout des pieds ; en suite, l'abbesse prenait un cierge bénit qu'elle faisait dégoutter, en forme de croix, depuis la tête jusqu'au nombril ; "*a summo Capitis usque ad umbilicum ventris, in modum crucis.*" De là, continue le vieux liturgiste normand, de là est venue cette croix de cire qu'on met, à Rouen et ailleurs, sur les cercueils.'

Have we not here a full and striking explanation of the burnt wax taper, broken, and laid upon the breast of the archbishop of York above referred to, viz. : that after being lighted, and caused to gutter a cross upon the corpse, it was then broken in two, and—in company with the sacramental instruments and elements—also laid cross-wise upon it ?

At ROMSEY abbey church, in 1846, on the removal of a large grave cover, originally decorated with a fine floriated cross of brass, was found the body of a priest in eucharistic vestments. In his right hand was a chalice covered with a paten, of pewter, the latter much corroded. Singular to say, though the covering slab of Purbeck marble was nearly twelve feet long, the coffin was only about half that length, while the skeleton was but five feet four inches.

At LINCOLN minster are preserved a silver chalice and gold pontifical ring, said to have been found with the remains of the famous bishop Grossetete, 1254 ; a silver chalice and paten from the

grave of bishop Benedict de Gravesend, 1280; a paten, on which appears a hand in the act of blessing; a chalice, much decayed, said to have been found in the tomb of Simon de Barton, archdeacon of Stowe, who died in 1330; and another chalice of pewter, from some grave now unknown. In addition to these were found, so recently as 1889, in the coffin of bishop Oliver Sutton, 1299—who built the cloister—a silver-gilt chalice, with a paten laid upon it, and covered with a piece of fine linen. These, as usual, were placed to the right of the body.—'I have set God always before me; *he is on my right hand, therefore I shall not fall.*'

A chalice and paten of pewter, and a crucifix of jet, were, now a good many years since, found in a stone coffin at OLD MALTON; and a silver chalice—found in Lincolnshire—together with a paten, and large cup of crystal, silver gilt with a cover, taken out of a stone coffin at Hill Court, Gloucestershire, in connexion with a skeleton which at once fell to dust, were exhibited, on the visit of the Archaeological Institute to Bristol, in 1851.

On taking up the floor of the choir of EXETER cathedral in 1763, the large slab covering the grave of bishop Bitton, 1307, was removed. Within the leaden coffin underneath, the skeleton was found nearly entire. On the right side stood a small chalice, covered with a paten, and having a piece of silk or linen wound about the stem. Among the dust was also discovered a gold ring with a large sapphire, and some fragments of a wooden crozier.

During the very difficult task of underpinning and consolidating the ruinous tower of S. DAVID'S cathedral in 1869, it became necessary to disturb the tombs within the choir screen, as well as certain others adjoining. Among the several articles thence removed were the head of a crozier, bronze gilt, and two chalices. A silver paten was also found during the restoration of 1861, in the stone coffin of bishop Walter de Cantelupe, at Worcester cathedral.

At ROCHESTER cathedral, when the tomb of the famous bishop Walter de Merton, 1277, was opened in 1598, his body was found pontifically vested, and accompanied by a crozier and chalice. The latter was removed, and is now preserved in his college at Oxford.

From another grave, in the south-east transept of the same church, and covered with a stone bearing a floriated cross, a crucifix and chalice were also taken, it appears, during the Commonwealth spoliations.

In the cathedral of TROYES, on October 31, 1844, M. Arnaud, inspector of monuments in the department of the Aube, opened the coffin of bishop Hervée—'mort en 1223, et inhumé avec ses ornements pontificaux, sa crosse, son calice et son anneau pastoral. Dans le calice, on a trouvé une fiole de verre blanc, dont le col allongé avait été cassé vers son orifice afin qu'elle put y être contenue. Un sédiment blanchâtre résidu d'une liqueur existe encore dans cette fiole. On voit des traces de la même substance, répandues dans le calice, et c'est sa lente evaporation qui aura fixé au bord de la patène quelques parcelles d'un linge blanc et fin qui y sont restées attachées. . . . . Nous sommes portée à supposer que cette fiole épiscopale contenait du chrême ou des huiles saintes. Nous lisons dans la *Vie* de saint Romain, évêque de Rouen au VII^e^ siècle, qu'il portait l'huile sainte aux fonts baptismaux dans une fiole de verre—'vitream testam ad fontes.' Casalius, dans son ouvrage intitulé: *De veterum sacris christianorum ritibus*, parle d'une fiole d'huile sainte que l'on plaçait avec les morts!' (*Bull. Mon.* xxii., p. 354).

This mention of holy oil interred with the bodies of the dead, as a still further protection against demoniacal pollution—the first I have met with—is certainly interesting, especially when taken in connexion with the chalice; for, since the vial containing it would certainly not be placed there, while either or both of the consecrated species were present, it might seem probable that in this case, as in so many others, they had previously been administered to the corpse direct.

Yet once more, at HEREFORD cathedral, within the tomb of bishop Swinfield, 1316, were found buried, *circa* 1860, a chalice and paten, as usual. What might, perhaps, be thought *unusual*, was the fact of there being—as the Rev. F. T. Havergal, an eye witness, declares—'*a trace of wine in the chalice.*' At the back of the coffin, which lay within a recessed mural arch, was a picture of the crucifixion.

Now, this discovery in the grave of bishop Swinfield opens up a strange and highly curious enquiry. All these chalices commonly

found in the coffins of ecclesiastics, of which those above specified form but a small part, are nowadays, usually spoken of as *grave chalices*, whether fashioned of silver, pewter, or gilt wax, just as though they had never been used for sacramental purposes, and were merely meant to point to the office of the deceased. Such, however, might seem to have been, and probably was really, very far indeed from being the case. This discovery at Hereford points clearly to the persistent use, even among the hierarchy, of a superstitious, though, perhaps, natural and intelligible, custom of defending the bodies of the dead by the sacramental presence of the Body and Blood of Christ. It was one of very old standing, and which, from time to time, long continued to crop up in the church, though expressly forbidden by the highest authorities, and council after council. Thus, the third council of Carthage, 397, at which S. Augustine was present, decrees—'*Placuit ut corporibus defunctorum eucharistia non detur. Dictum est enim a Domino, Accipite et edite : cadavera autem nec recipere possunt nec edere.*' And the same decree, with a slight variation, is repeated in the African Code, where the cause is ascribed to the ignorance of the presbyters misguiding the people. A like canon also was made in the council of Auxerre in France, in 578. S. Chrysostom (399-407) also speaks against it, asking—'*To whom did he say,*' '*Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye have no life in you?*' *Did he speak to the living or to the dead?*' But the practice, it seems, still continued, notwithstanding, for the council of Trullo (692), repeats the prohibition in the words of the council of Carthage, '*Let no one impart the eucharist to the bodies of the dead; for it is written, "Take and eat," but the bodies of the dead can neither take nor eat.*'

Cardinal Bona, though not defending this practice, yet does uphold another and similar one, viz, that of burying the eucharist with the dead ; and this, because it was followed by S. Benedict, with the approval of Gregory the Great. According to the latter, S. Benedict ordered the communion to be laid upon the breast of one of his monks, and to be buried with him. And the practice was undoubtedly persevered in, for both Balsamon and Zonaras speak of it in their time, and Ivo says that : 'when the body of S. Othmar

was translated, the sacrament was taken up out of the dormitory with him.' And a learned man, now living, says Bingham (*Antiquities of the Christian Church*), assures us, that he himself (Dr. Whitby) with many others have seen the chalice in which the sacred blood was buried, dug out of the graves of divers bishops buried in the church of Sarum. So that whatever the laws might prohibit, the profanation continued under pretence of piety amongst the greatest men, but without any foundation or real example in the practice of the primitive church.' (Vol. ii., b. xv., c. iv., s. 20.)

But whether the consecrated elements were deposited on a portable altar, within a chalice, upon a paten, or inserted in the mouth of the corpse, was after all, of little moment; since, in neither case, could any *spiritual* benefit be derived from their mere proximity to, or even actual contact with it. The sole possible advantage of their interment must, therefore, have been regarded as a *corporal* one: the 'supernatural' presence of the body and blood of Christ affording so perfect a defence to the 'natural body' of the deceased, that—'the *enemy* should not be able to do it violence, nor the *son of wickedness* to hurt it.' [23]

[23] In the case of ecclesiastical effigies sculptured in relief, the chalice is, I think, very rarely represented. In that of bishops—although such vessels were frequently, if not generally, interred with them—never, under any circumstances. As on the sculptured tombs of archbishop Gray at York, 1255; bishops Bartholomew, 1191, Marshall, 1206, and Simon de Apulia, 1223, at Exeter; on the brasses of archbishop Greenfield at York, 1315; archbishop Cranley, 1417, and bishop Young, 1526, at Oxford; and on the incised slab of bishop Bitton, 1274, at Wells; they are usually shown as holding the cross, or crozier, in the left hand, and blessing with the right, though this is far from being always so. Thus, on the brass of bishop Ysowilpe, at Verden, 1231—the earliest one known—he is depicted as carrying a church in his right hand, and a castle in his left; while bishop Otto of Brunswick, at Hildesheim, 1279, carries a model of the castle of Wolsenburgh in his left hand, and his crozier in his right. Bishops Godfrey and Frederic de Bulowe, 1314 and 1375, at Schwerin, have their hands simply crossed downwards, as has also cardinal Cusanos, 1464, at Cues; while bishop Rupert of Paderborn, 1369, like bishop Wyvill at Salisbury, 1375, William of Wykeham at Winchester, 1404, and bishop Stafford at Exeter, 1419, have theirs—

'in resignation pressed,
palm against palm on each tranquil breast.'

as usual with all classes. Bishops Theodericus at Naumberg, 1466; Vriel de Gorka at Posen, 1498; and cardinal Casmiri at Cracow, 1510; all hold the gospels in the left hand, and the crozier in the right; bishop Goodrich at Ely, 1544, reversing the order by holding his crozier in the left hand, and the gospels, below which hangs the Great Seal, in his right. Bishop Boothe of Exeter, 1478, is shewn in profile, kneeling, and with his hands raised before him; while bishop

Chapter IX.

OF CHANTRY CHAPELS.

And now, this custom of interring portable altars and sacramental vessels within the coffins of the deceased, brings us by natural transition to the consideration of that further use of such instruments which prevailed so largely in the later portion of the Middle Ages, and transformed a prohibited and superstitious practice into one wholly agreeable with the faith and teaching of the church. I refer to the subject of private chantries, and their accompanying chapels.

Varying very greatly in character, size, and splendour, these last, as their grievously mutilated remains still show us, were established

Schomberg at Naumburg, 1516—who caused his tomb to be made in his lifetime—appears as a miserably shrivelled 'cadaver,' standing, and with his hands clasped in the same position. Besides which, we have bishop John Tydeman at Lübeck, 1561, holding his mitre in his right hand, and crozier in his left; while the beautifully sculptured demi-effigy of bishop Ethelmar de Valence at Winchester, 1261, shews him with both hands raised, and 'lifting up his heart.' But, in no single instance, anywhere, do we meet with the chalice, which would seem to have been everywhere regarded as the peculiar and distinguishing mark of priests only. This, though of very rare occurrence on their effigies in relief, is found, however, so frequently—even in the few instances of their brasses and incised slabs that remain—as to lead us to suppose that, originally, its appearance on that class of monuments was very common indeed. Thus, among others, we see it in the fine Flemish brass at Wensley, where it appears above the crossed hands, and upon the breast of the deceased; and on another of the same class at North Mimms, and by the same artist, beneath the hands, which are pressed together and elevated. On that of a priest at Broxbourne, Herts., the chalice is shown as supported, not grasped, between his two upraised hands upon his breast; as is also the case in that of Henry Denton, at Higham Ferrars, where it is surmounted by the priest's wafer marked with a cross crosslet. The brass of William Curtes, at South Burlingham, consists, beside the inscription, of a chalice only, containing the wafer ensigned with the sacred monogram—a very common fashion throughout Norfolk, and which appears also on the tomb of William Langton, rector of S. Michael's York, 1463. On an incised slab at Petit Andelys, the beautifully drawn figure of the priest holds the foot of the chalice with his left hand, while his right supports the stem. At Middleton church, Lancashire, Edmund Appleton also grasps the foot of a rich and immense chalice with his left hand; his right, supporting the bowl, with an ensigned wafer. At Chalons-sur-Marne, also, an unknown priest, while holding the foot of the chalice in his left hand, maintains the rim of its bowl with his right. At Brussels, on the effigy of a priest, named Doxnen, as in the case of that at North Mimms, we see the chalice set below the upturned hands. At Melsele, on the effigy of Ian Van Den Couteren, 1500; and at Ghent, on that of Willem Symoens, 1570, it is also shewn in the same position. At Nordhausen, Jacob Capillan, 1395, who is kneeling, holds the cup aloft before him, grasping its foot with both hands. At Erfurt, the priest, who appears to be standing under a very rich octagonal canopy, holds the knob of the chalice in his left hand while the first two fingers of his right are laid upon the brim. At the same place, John de Heringen

throughout all the land, in well nigh countless numbers, and in churches of every description: cathedral, collegiate, monastic, and parochial alike. Among these generally, perhaps, the most distinct as well as beautiful are, or rather were, those founded by bishops and other magnates in the cathedral and abbey churches. Of these we have happily, even yet, notwithstanding all the havoc they have undergone, many exquisite remains. From the peculiar nature of the case, many of them, both in form and dimensions, differ greatly from such as are usually met with elsewhere, as possessing not only a personal, but structural isolation; that is, in commemorating the individual founders only, and in their detachment from the structures in which they stand, by being placed between the pillars of their arcades. They

holds the foot of a tall chalice with his left hand, and the stem with his right; while at Bamberg, Eberard de Rabenstein holds a book in his right, and a chalice by its stem, in his left hand.

At Damme, Johan de Fonte, 1531, has the chalice, as at Wensley, laid above his crossed hands, upon his breast. Again, at Erfurt, Eobanus Ziegler, 1560, while grasping the cup with his left hand, blesses it—and not the people generally like a bishop—with his right.

On the simple grave covers of priests which have no effigies, the chalice, with or without other accessories, occurs indeed, constantly. Thus, at Barnard Castle, for example, we find to the left of an exceedingly rich floriated cross, a book; to the right, a chalice, immediately over which, and crossing the cross stem, is a forearm vested in an alb, with hand extended in benediction. At Gainford, the chalice appears alone. At Blanchland, with the wafer over. At S. Andrew's, Newcastle, with a hand in benediction to the left, and a paten to the right of the cross shaft, of which the cup forms part. At S. Mary's Hospital there, both chalice and paten form part of the cross stem, to the left of which is the wafer. At Sproatley, Yorkshire, the cup is to the left of the cross stem, which it partly overlaps, while a hand holds a quatrefoiled paten overhead. At Marrick, the cup is to the right of the cross, and accompanied by what looks like a pax; a book and paten appearing to the left. At Great Salkeld, and S. Mary's, Leicester, are a chalice to the right, and a book to the left. At Ampleforth, Southwell Minster, and Clixby, Lincolnshire, the cup alone appears to the right. At All Saints, York, beneath a short and equal limbed floriated cross. At Well, Stainton-le-Street, and Corbridge, the cup, singly, forms part of the cross shaft; while on a second stone there, as also at Newcastle, the paten appears as well. In this last instance, the wafer is also introduced to the left. At Jervaux abbey too, not further to multiply examples, a chalice, containing the wafer, is shewn to the left of an exceptionally rich and beautiful floriated cross.

Now, without either asserting, or even assuming, any necessary connexion between the representation of the sacramental vessels upon these, and many other grave covers, and the deposition of the consecrated species in the graves beneath, it may certainly be held—*knowing what we do of the practice*—that they not only render such a supposition far from improbable—more especially where the host, either plain, or ensigned with the cross, or sacred monogram appears in addition—but serve greatly to strengthen the conviction that, in every case where the so-called 'grave chalices' occur, there, at least, the sacramental elements must, *all but certainly*, have accompanied them.

exhibit, in fact, a simple development of the ordinary canopied tomb by having its enclosing members advanced just so far beyond the limits of the actual sarcophagus as to admit a passage way all round, as well as the introduction of a small altar at the east end.

Of this, WINCHESTER cathedral possessed by far the most numerous and magnificent collection, viz., those of bishops Edington, 1354-1366, between the second and third pillars of the nave, to the south-east; Wykeham, 1367-1404, between the seventh and eighth, proceeding in the same order westwards; Beaufort, 1405-1447, between the two central pillars of the eastern choir aisles, southwards; Waynflete, 1447-1480, exactly opposite, between the corresponding pillars northwards; Fox, 1500-1528, on the south side of the feretory, behind the reredos; and Gardner, 1531-1555, on the north, in the like position, beneath the inclined arches forming the quasi-apse. Saving perhaps the last; the whole of these were of the most ornate character—masses of gorgeous ornament, tabernacle work, and imagery, and painted and gilded so profusely as to resemble mounds of glittering jewellery.

Still larger and more magnificent than even these, however, were the private sepulchral chapels of bishops Alcock and West (1486-1500, and 1515-1533), at the eastern ends of the choir aisles of ELY cathedral; and of bishop Langton, at the eastern extremity of the south aisle of the Lady chapel, at Winchester; all three unsurpassable in the richness, profusion, and delicacy of their sculptured stone, and wood work, as well as of the polychromatic decoration with which they were originally all ablaze.

At EXETER cathedral, those of bishop Brantyngham, 1369-1394, on the north side of the nave, and of Hugh Courtney, earl of Devon, 1377, on the south side, have—save the high tomb of the latter—been utterly destroyed.

At SALISBURY cathedral, two such chantry chapels still remain in generally fair preservation. They are those of bishop Audley, 1502-1524; and of Walter, lord Hungerford, *c.* 1429, set exactly opposite each other in the second bay—north and south—of the choir, counting from the east; the former in its original place, the latter removed from

the nave in 1778. That of the bishop, though all its statuary has been destroyed, still retains its rich fan vault, as well as much brilliant colouring. The Hungerford chapel has all its upper parts, which are wholly of iron, richly painted and gilded.

At WELLS cathedral, three of these rich and beautiful structures are also to be seen. Two of them, viz., those of bishop Bubwith. 1407-1424; and dean Sugar, 1489; occupy the second bays of the nave, counting from the east, respectively, and remain, as to their stonework, tolerably perfect. The third, that of the great builder and benefactor, both of the church and city, bishop Beckington—a work of the most sumptuous and elaborate splendour—has been deliberately pulled to pieces in a late 'restoration,' and, while the tomb has been left in the choir, the enclosing canopy has been relegated to the east aisle of the south transept. Parts of the latter, with all their wealth of painted and gilded sculpture, may be seen, admirably reproduced, by Mr. Collings in his *Gothic Ornaments*.

In TEWKESBURY abbey church are two. One of them, viz., that erected by Isabel, countess of Warwick, in 1438, in honour of S. Mary Magdalene, beneath the first arch of the choir, westwards, towards the north, exceedingly rich and beautiful; the other, that of Sir Edward de Spencer, in honour of the Holy Trinity, beneath the second arch of the choir westwards, on the south. The remarkable feature in the case of the countess's chapel is that, though constructed a year before her death as a mortuary chapel, probably, it was really but a cenotaph; the inscription, carved in black letter, stating that she died in London, in the Minories, in 1439, 'et sepulta in choro, in dextram Patris sui, cujus animae Parcat Deus. Amen.' As a chantry for the celebration of daily mass for her soul it was, however, perfect.

One of, if not now, perhaps, the most perfect and best known chantry chapels of this class, is that splendid one of polished brass erected by king Henry VII. in the east central part of his reconstructed Lady chapel at Westminster, where, though the covering has gone, and the altar along with it, the effigies of himself and his queen remain practically intact. Gone, too, are all the splendid plate and

jewels, with the services to which they ministered, notwithstanding the covenant for their continuance—'*whilst the world shall endure.*' Alas! for the truth that 'a man's foes shall be they of his own household.' '*Within fifty years of the king's death the last flickers of the tapers at his shrine had died out.*'

And now, not further to multiply instances, it will suffice to notice more particularly one of three others still remaining at St. Alban's abbey church. Two, viz., those of abbots Ramryge and Wallingford, which respectively occupy the north and south arches immediately west of the high altar—though still very rich and beautiful, need not detain us, the chief interest centring, as it does, in the third. It is that of the famous Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, uncle to king Henry VI., and Protector of the Kingdom during his minority. This magnificent work stands under the easternmost arch of the feretory, southwards of the shrine of the saint, and is of the most elaborate character, having been constructed for him at his own expense, and during his lifetime, by abbot John of Wheathamstead. The vault below was opened in 1703, when the duke's body was found entire; a crucifix being painted against the eastern wall. A peculiar value attaches to this chapel, not only on account of its singular richness and historic interest, but because of the detailed account that has been preserved of its cost, and of the uses to which it was applied. This is contained in the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, marked Claud. A. 8, 195, and is as follows:—

In this sedule be conteyned the charges and observances appointed by the noble Prince Humfrey, late Duke of Gloucester, to be perpetually boren by the abbot and convent of the monasterie of Seint Alban:

	£	s.	d.
First, the Abbot and Convent of the seid monasterie have payd for makynge of the tumbe and place of sepulture of the seid duke, within the said monasterie above the sume of cccxxxiii^{l} vi^{s} viii^{d}	433	6	8
Item, two monks prests dayly saying masse at the Auter of Sepulture of the seid Prince, everych taking by the day 6^{d} summa thereoff by one hole yere, xviii^{l} v^{s}	18	5	0
Item. To the abbot ther yerly the day of the anniversary of seid prince attending his exequyes	10	0	0
Item. To the priour ther yerly, the same day in likewise attending	10	0	0

Item. To '40 monks not priests, yerely, the said day, to everych of them the same day 6^{s} 8^{d}, summa thereof ...	13	6	8
Item. To ii Ankresses at St. Peter's Church and St. Michael, the seid day, yerely to everych	0	20	0
Item. In money, to be distributed to pore people ther the seid day	0	40	0
Item. To 13 pore men berying torches about the sepulchre the seid day	0	40	0
Item. For wex brennyng daily at his masses and his seid anniversary, and of torches yerely	6	13	4
Item. To the kichen of the convent ther yerely, in relief of the grete decay of the livehode of the seid monasterie, in the Marches of Scotland, which beforetime hath he appointed to the seid Kechyn	40	0	0

But then, besides these, and many others which, if less isolated and sumptuous, were still splendid, and of a distinctly personal and individual character, we have also that vast and quite incalculable host of other, and less wholly personal, private chantry chapels, built and endowed, not for the individual founders only, but for their families and descendants, and of which our ordinary town and village churches afford such an infinite variety of examples. Differing, as these necessarily do, in so many ways, that is, as to size, position, form, and general architectural character, there is nevertheless one particular in which they all agree, and that is the possession of separate and distinct altars, where, with lights burning, the daily sacrifice should be offered continually, so that of those interred therein also, it might be said, as of those of old:—'Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore.'

Chapter X.

OF HEARSES AND OTHER LIGHT-BEARING CONTRIVANCES ABOUT TOMBS.

This 'brennyng of wex' daily at his mass and anniversary, and torches yearly, set forth in the schedule of the charges and observances to be perpetually borne in respect of duke Humphrey's chantry at S. Alban's, introduces us again to that kindred, but far commoner, because cheaper, custom—all traces of which have now well nigh disappeared—of placing 'herses' over and around the graves and

monuments of the dead. These were of two kinds, temporary and permanent: the former, as less costly, being, doubtless, in most general use. They consisted of 'frames, covered with cloth, and ornamented with banners and lights, set up over a corpse in funeral solemnities,' and so continuing, as it would seem, for a longer or shorter time, according to circumstances. Temporary hearses were, apparently, in special vogue among members of the divers guilds, which were at one time so numerous throughout the country. Thus, in the constitutions of that of S. Margaret and S. Catherine, at Leicester, among others, we read:—'Also it is ordained that if anyone of the brethren or sisters die within the town of Leicester, he should have a hearse with torches in the church of the same parish wherein he may die, and that all the brethren and sisters should be present at his obsequies, and on the morrow at mass, if they should be forewarned by the superiors.' 'Also, if any brother or sister should die within the space of twelve leagues around the city of Leicester, his *confrères* shall bring him or her to the town of Leicester with torches, and he shall have a mass and a hearse in the aforesaid church of S. Margaret.'

But, besides these light and movable structures which would, doubtless, take to pieces, were others of a more enduring and fixed sort—'standing herses' of metal fixed over tombs, to hold lighted tapers on anniversaries, and as a sort of cradle to receive the pall. Of these, says the late A. W. Pugin, in his *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*, 'I have seen only two examples remaining, the well known brass one in the Beauchamp chapel, Warwick, which is composed of brass rods with enamelled ends; and one in wrought iron, over a tomb of the Marmions in Tanfield church, near Ripon, Yorkshire. But Mr. Bloxam, in his *Glossary*, mentions another in Bedale church, in the same county. These herses serve at once for a protection to the tomb, and a frame for lights or hangings, and when furnished with bannerols of metal, shields and cresting, they produced a most solemn and beautiful appearance.'

Then again, apart from the lights attached to these hearses, whether movable or fixed, as well as from those used in the daily masses within the chantry chapels, there are others holding a some-

what different place—forming part of, or connected more or less intimately with, certain tombs or chapels, and designed for use, perhaps, only on anniversaries, or other 'solemn days.' Thus the tomb of bishop Hotham, 1316-1367, in the choir of Ely cathedral, which was in two storeys, had on the top, a lofty 'branch' for seven great tapers. His effigy, originally in the lower one, has now been removed.

The fine canopied tomb of king EDWARD II., in the north choir aisle of Gloucester cathedral, was originally, and is still, furnished with a large and handsome bracket midway on the side to serve as a stand for a lamp.

At HACCOMB church, Devonshire, under the first mural arch in the north aisle, is a female effigy, holding in her hand a heater shaped shield upon her breast, on which are the Haccomb arms. Between this and the next mural arch, which contains a slab with a curious truncated cross raised on a stepped base, and supposed to be the memorial of Robert de Pyle, clerk, 'there projects from the wall about six feet from the ground, the remains of a vested arm; this once sustained a light.'

At EXETER cathedral, in the chantry chapel of S. Radegunde—constructed in the thickness of the western screen as the place of his sepulture, by bishop Grandisson, the principal builder of the church—in addition to the lights which burnt upon the altar, were others suspended from the roof, the holes for which still remain.

At WESTMINSTER, the chantry chapel of Henry VII., was also provided with four immense and magnificent bowls for sustaining vast tapers of wax, in the centre of each side. They are still perfect, and consist of great roses surmounted by royal crowns, which project boldly beyond the cornice.

In the cathedral of S. BAVON, at GHENT, may now be seen four magnificent candelabra of wrought copper, no less than eleven feet high, of the richest workmanship, and bearing the royal arms of England. These are traditionally said to have once been in S. Paul's, whence they were taken and sold during the times of the Commonwealth, for the benefit of the exchequer. But, however this may be, it is certain that, originally, they formed part of that sump-

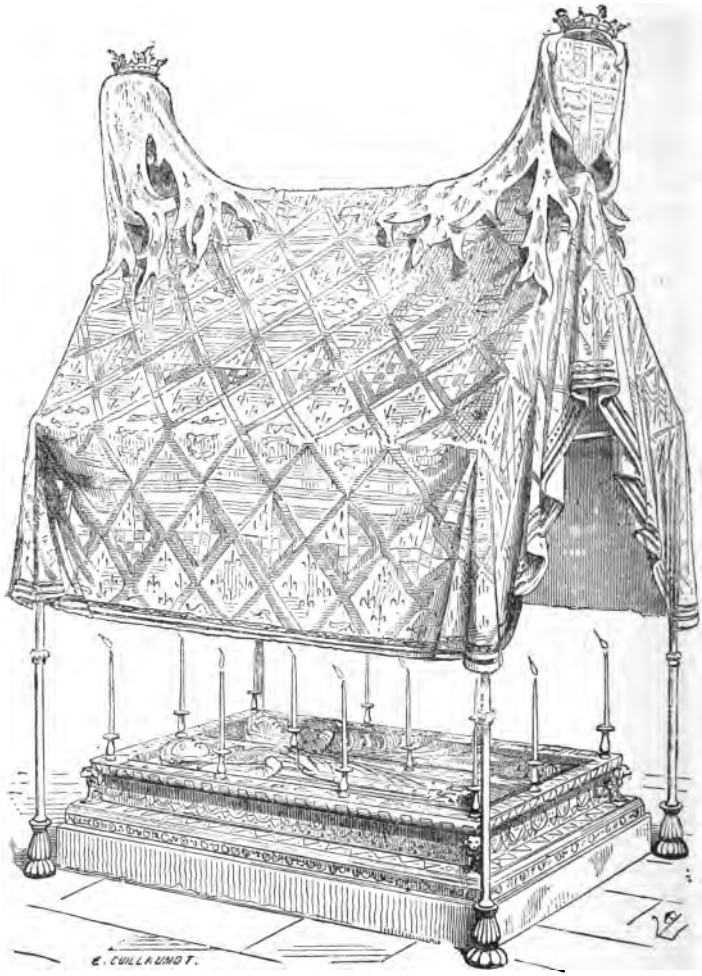
tuous tomb which Wolsey began to erect for himself at Windsor, and which Henry VIII., afterwards appropriating for the same purpose to himself, never lived to finish. They would be designed, therefore, to stand, either at the four corners of the contemplated monument, or as in the case of his father's, in the centre of each face.

In the south aisle or Nevill chantry of STAINDROP church, co. Durham, built and endowed by Ralph, lord Nevill, of Nevill's Cross, in 1348, lies, beneath a mural arch, the effigy of his mother, Euphemia de Clavering. Above the arch rises a tall, triangular pyramid, or canopy, terminating in a large bracket, doubtless intended to support the image of some saint, probably that of the B.V.M. Between the arch and canopy the wall surface is filled in with beautiful flowing tracery, richly cusped, in the centre of each lateral compartment of which may be seen holes plugged with lead, evidently intended for the support of metal branches carrying lights to burn *above* the effigy of the deceased, as well as *before* that of the tutelary saint. This particular instance may probably serve to illustrate one only, of many similar methods of illuminating tombs, the evidences of which are now, for the most part, either obscured or destroyed.

Besides these examples, the abbey church of S. DENIS, near PARIS, furnishes us with some early, and very interesting ones of a like kind, erected by the care of S. Louis. In order to prevent their unduly encumbering the transept in which they were placed, the effigies of the several kings and queens set up by his order were arranged on low bases, two and two; the heads of the one at the feet of the other. Behind the heads of each pair a kind of low reredos extended from side to side, with arched niches forming shallow vertical canopies for the heads of each, while the ends, carried up into lofty pillars with foliated capitals, formed bases for candelabra. Between each pair of these pillars, again, and surmounting the reredoses, was set a fringe or cresting of small candlesticks. Viollet le Duc, *Dic. Raissonné de l'Architecture Française*, vol. ix. p. 48.

But, perhaps, one of the most splendid and perfect works of this class was that to be seen before 1793, in the church of VILLENEUVE, near Nantes. It combined, in a very remarkable way, the two

systems of hearses without provision for lights, and tombs with provision for them. The monument, a double one, was that of the two



HEARSE IN CHURCH OF VILLENEUVE, NEAR NANTES.

princesses, Alix, countess of Bretagne, who died in 1221, and her daughter, Yolande de Bretagne, who died in 1272. The effigies themselves, as well as the couches on which they lay, were of copper,

gilt, and enamelled, and on the armorial bordures, which surrounded and separated them, were twelve sockets for receiving sconces for candles. Outside of all, at the four corners, were four rich and lofty standards of metal supporting the framework of the herse, on which were hung the cloths displaying the armorial insignia of their house.—Viollet le Duc, *Dict.*, vol. ix. p. 64.

Chapter XI.

ON FANAUX, LANTERNES DES MORTS, OR COLONNES CREUSES DES CIMETIÈRES.

Such being the methods adopted for safeguarding the remains of the richer and more distinguished classes, inside the churches, whether laid in simple graves, or within purely personal or family chantries, it behoves us now to enquire into those taken to protect the bodies of the great bulk of the people whose means and position, forbidding any such honours, were laid to rest in the common cemetery without. And first of all, as a matter which admits of no dispute whatever, and serves at the same time to illustrate and explain the less well-known and understood methods practised with the same object amongst ourselves in England, it will be desirable to direct our attention for awhile to France, and examine, so far as their existing, or rather recorded, evidences permit, those commonly pursued there. Owing to their isolated and detached character, their exposed position, and the ready mark which they offered to the rabid violence of the revolutionary mobs of the last century; as well as, perhaps, to their gradual disuse throughout the country generally, these monumental witnesses are, nowadays, but few and far between, even in the districts wherein they were once most plentiful. Being, moreover, so widely scattered, they failed to exercise the speculative instincts of the people, and thus, the few of them which had escaped extinction ceasing, by degrees, to be either talked about or thought of, became at length, forgotten and unknown. And in this state of contemptuous oblivion they remained till the second quarter of the last century; the late M. de Caumont of Caen, being the first to call attention to them in part iv. of his *Cours d'Antiquités Monu-*

mentales, which appeared in 1838, and in an advanced notice of the same published in vol. iii. of the *Bulletin Monumental*, the year previous.

Speaking therein of his forthcoming treatise he says: 'Je crois devoir signaler aux lectures du Bulletin une espèce de monuments que j'ai décrite et sur lesquelles il n'existe aucun renseignement; je veux parler des colonnes creuses ou des fanaux qui se rencontre encore dans quelques-uns de nos cimetières.' And he thereupon proceeds to describe the very remarkable one at Fenioux (Charente Inférieure) of which he supplies an illustration. 'Ce petit monument,' he says, 'est placé à cent pas de l'église, vis-a-vis le portail sud; et le style qui domine dans les details annonce le xii^{e} siecle. . . . Il offre une agglomération de onze colonnes engagées, ayant d'abord une base commune, et ensuite des bases particulières. Ces onze colonnes qui ont chaque leur chapiteau portent une architrave sur laquelle s'élèvent en forme d'attique onze petits piliers carrés ayant entre eux autant de petits intervalles pour laisser pénétrer le jour. Sur ces petits piliers repose une pyramide quadrangulaire terminée par une croix.

'On a ménagé dáns l'intérieur de la colonne, un escalier auquel on parvient par un corridor. Le monument est placé sur un tertre, et c'est dans ce tertre qu'est creusé le corridor: le socle est en partie caché sous la terre; cependant le côté de l'est face du monument, est plus à découvert. C'est dans ce soubassement qu'est située la porte du corridor.

'Un autre escalier de huit à neuf marches existait extérieurement en avant de la porte. On voit encore les pierres qui formaient la rampe; celles des marches enlevées, quelques-unes se trouvent au pied du monticule.

'Cet escalier extérieur ne conduisait pas au corridor; car la porte est au-dessous: il menait vers le haut du socle; peut-être dressait-on dans certaines cérémonies sur la table de ce socle, un autel portatif, des chandeliers, des offrandes, un crucifix. . . .'

He continues:—'Le monument de Fenioux offre une parfaite ressemblance de style avec celui de Quinéville (Manche), dont j'ai parlé dans la v^{e} partie de mon Cours' . . . and then goes on:—

'Il existe en Poitou plusieurs fanaux semblables . . . d'autres sont cités dans plusieurs départements du centre de la France. J'ai visité celui du cimetière de Château Larcher près Poitiers: il présente, autant qu'il me souvient, une colonne creuse, et une espéce de socle ou de soubassement en forme de tombeau d'autel; et quoique moins remarquable que celui de Fenioux, il meritait d'être dessiné. . . .

'Ces monuments etaient plus communs dans le centre de la France que dans l'ouest et le nord. Il y en a plusieurs dans la Haute-Vienne, dans le Puys-de-Dôme, dans le Cantal; et l'usage d'allumer ces fanaux subsistait encore dans plusieurs endroits de ces départements au siècle dernier.

'"Il existe," dit M. le Cointre, "une donation faite en 1268 à la cure de Mauriac par un de ses curés pour allumer tous les samedis[24] une chandelle dans la lanterne qu'il avait fait élever au milieu du cimetière. Nous ne pouvions désirer un document plus précis.

'Je ne serais pas surpris quand la petite colonne qui supporte la croix de l'ancien cimetière de Séez, aurait été autrefois surmonteé par une lanterne.

'L'usage de ces fanaux dans les cimetières chrétiens est bien ancien, puisqu'il en existait un à Saint Hilaire-de-Poitiers, lors de la bataille de Clovis contre Alaric. Ce fanal est désigné dans les historiens par les mots *pharus ignea*. L'église de Saint Hilaire etait au milieu d'un champ de sépulture fort considerable: tout le quartier est pavé de trois et quatre rangs de sarcophages superposés."'

In a letter addressed to M. de Caumont by M. Tailhand in vol. v. of the *Bulletin Monumental*, pp. 433-5, the writer says:—

'Le premier de ces monuments qui m'apparut est celui de Felletin, département de la Creuse; il est placé dans le cimetière au-dessus et un peu à l'est de la ville. C'est un prisme octagonal surmonté d'un toit pyramidal de la hauteur totale de 26 pieds. A 12 pieds, à partir de la deuxième marche circulaire qui l'enveloppe à la base, est une légère corniche sur laquelle reposent huit croisées d'environ 2 pieds de hauteur, a plein cintre. Une seule ouverture

[24] Note the lighting of the candle on Saturdays (like the Greeks) the day when the Lord's body lay in the tomb.

percée à 2 pieds de la même base, et ayant 4 pieds de hauteur sur 15 pouces de largeur laisse pénétrer dans l'intérieur qui est absolument vide.'

He then proceeds to describe with illustrations, as in the preceding example, two others, viz., those of Montaigu, arrondissement of Riom, department of Puy-de-Dôme, and Cullent, the former square, the latter round, and proceeds :—

'Ils sont aussi vides dans leur intérieur. Les ouvertures de chacun d'eux regardent l'orient. On ne voit dans leur intérieur aucun moyen pour s'élever jusqu'aux fenêtres.'

Besides these, he says, in answer to M. de Caumont's enquiries :— 'Il en existait aussi dans le même département a Abajut et à Montferrand. Ce dernier n'existe plus ; sa forme nous a été conservée par un dessin de M. le comte de Laizer, il etait surmonté d'une croix qui a dû y être placée postérieurement à sa construction.

'Je pourrais en citer beaucoup d'autres, et la tour octagone près la chapelle du St. Sépulcre, à Aigueperse (Puy de Dôme), m'en parait encore un avec quelques modifications. Il y en avait beaucoup dans la Marche. Il y en a un près Roen-en-Forez.'

Then he proceeds to enquire into the uses of these structures, and supplies various speculative solutions which have been offered by divers persons, most of which are sufficiently extravagant, but which, with others, equally imaginary, if less absurd, may be summarily dismissed.

In vol. vi. of the *Bulletin Monumental*, as a further answer to M. de Caumont's invitation, M. A. de la Villegille sends a description of two other monuments of the same class. He says :—

'Les deux colonnes creuses, que j'ai visitées, sont situées, comme les fanaux dont M. le Cointre fait mention, au milieu de cimetières qui bordent des chemins de grande communication. La première colonne, celle d'Estrées, arrondissement de Châteauroux, occupe a peu près le centre d'un grande terrain vague, qui s'appui, au midi, sur l'ancienne route de Buzançais á Palluau, et se trouve limité au nord par les restes de l'église paroissiale d'Estrées, monument du xi^e^ siècle dont le chœur est encore de bout. Ce terrain, autrefois le cimetière de la paroisse, a été fouillé sur presque toute sa superficie.

. . . L'élévation totale du fanal d'Estrèes est de 8m 30″. . . .'

He then proceeds to give a lengthy and minutely detailed account of the structure which is, or was then, in an exceedingly ruinous condition, and concludes by saying:—'Quant à l'usage auquel il était destiné, il est vraisemblable qu'il a dû être employé comme fanal. La tradition locale confirme d'ailleurs cette conjecture. Elle rapporte qu'on plaçait une lumière dans la colonne *pour éclairer les moines lorsqu'ils revenaient des vignes*. Le cimetière se trouve en effet entouré de vignobles, qui dependaient sans doute du monastère de St. Genoux, situé dans la vallée, a peu de distance.' . . .

'La seconde colonne, est située dans la commune de St. Georges de Ciron, à 15 kilomèteres du Blanc, et sur l'ancien chemin qui conduisait de cette ville à Argenton. Elle est éloignée de l'église du village d'environ 150 mètres, et comme celle d'Estrées, elle se trouve au milieu d'un vaste cimetière abandonné depuis longtemps. . . . Le fanal de Ciron est assis sur un large piédestal en maçonnerie ayant 5·80m de long, sur 4·80m de large, et 1·20m de hauteur. On y monte, du côté du couchant, par un escalier de six marches. Les autres faces avaient également des degrés dans l'origine, mais il y a environ quatre-vingts ans (vers 1760), un curé les fit elever pour construire une petite sacristie près de l'église. La colonne proprement dite, dont le diamètre extérieur est de 0·85m, et qui a une élévation de 7·20m, n'occupe précisément le centre du piédestal. La base est orneé de plusieurs moulures, et le vide qu'elle renferme ne commence qu'à 1·20m de la plate-forme. A cette même hauteur, une pierre d'une largeur égale à celle de la colonne, fait saille vers l'ouest, et forme une table plane de 43 centimètres de longeur sur 18 d'epaisseur. A la partie opposée, on aperçoit les traces d'une autre saillie plus étroite que la première, mais descendant beaucoup plus bas. La pierre ayant été brisée, il est impossible de reconnaitre actuellement ce qui existait de ce côté.

'L'edifice se termine, a sa partie supérieure, par un toit aigu, en pierre, surmontée d'un boule au-dessus de laquelle était placée anciennement une croix aussi en pierre . . . la colonne est percée de six fenêtres ogivales, etroites et allongées, comme celles à qui l'on a donné le nom de lancettes. Une petite ouverture quarrée, qui

regarde le sud, se trouve à la naissance de la cavité intérieure et communique avec elle. . . .

'Dans la commune de St. Hilaire, non loin de Ciron, il existait également une colonne du même genre, mais un peu moins élevée. Elle était au milieu d'une prairie, et la procession de la Fête-Dieu s'y rendait aussi chaque année. Le proprietaire du terrain a malheureusement fait démolir cette colonne en 1833 ou 1834.

'Enfin, une quatrième colonne m'a été signalée comme existant encore dans le hameau de Vercia, dans le voisinage de la Souterraine (Creuse). Elle parait être plus riche en ornaments que les précédentes.'

The foundations of another fanal, now otherwise wholly destroyed, existed some few years since also on the south side of the cemetery of the abbey of Parthenay in Poitou, where they were explored by M. de Caumont. In respect of this it is recorded that—'*une rente était constituée pour subvenir aux frais d'entretien de la lampe qui y était anciennement allumée.*'

An account of yet another, at St. Pierre d'Oleron, is supplied by M. Moreau, Inspector of the Charente (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. vi. pp. 331-2)—'Ce monument, dit-il, qui a des rapports avec celui de Fenioux, peut avoir eu la même destination ; cependant les deux monuments ne sont pas de la même époque. J'attribue l'érection du fanal de Fenioux au xii^{e} siècle ; celui de St. Pierre d' Oleron me parait postérieur d'environ deux cents ans, le premier est une construction romane, celui de l'ile d'Oleron est dans le style ogivale du xiv^{e} siècle. Je ne parle que de la partie octogone, car le prisme et la pyramide quadrangulaire qui la surmontent sont encore moins ancienne. Comme à Fenioux, le monument est placé sur un tertre ; un escalier de pleusieurs marches est situé à l'extérieur et conduit au pied d'un escalier intérieur. Mais l'ornamentation est fermée d'arcades simulées appliquées sur chaque face de l'octogone. L'archivolte est une ogive étroite et les pieds droits sont des groupes de tores qui s'élèvent de la base du monument jusque vers son extremite supérieure.'

M. Godard is also reported (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. vii. p. 544) to have discovered a further, and very curious example in the middle of the town of Saumur.

Of that still remaining at Parigné l'Evêque (Sarthe) M. F. Etoc.

Demazy says :—'La colonne de Parigné l'Evêque est la seule que je connaise dans notre département, la seule, peut-être de notre province. Personne, que je sache, ne l'avait indiquée . . . Cette tour de forme cylindrique, élégante et gracieuse, s'éléve sur un perron circulaire composé de trois marches, haut de 0·80^{m}. De ce point, au commencement du toit, j'ai compté 9·40^{m}, et du larmier à la pointe du cone, 2·50^{m}; total de la hauteur: 11·70^{m} ou 40 de nos anciens pieds . . . Le diamêtre interieur de la tour, pris à sa base, est de 1^{m}; le diamêtre total de 2·26^{m}., et de 1·80^{m} sous le larmier . . . Les fenêtres, à pleine centre et au nombre de quatre, sont disposées dans le sens des principaux points de l'horizon. . . . On monte dans la tour au moyen de vingt huit ouvertures carrées, sans issues à l'exterieur, dont quatorze de chaque côté de la porte . . . La lanterne de Parigné est dans un état presque parfait de conservation . . .

'Je n'ai pu me procurer sur la tour de Parigné l'Evêque que se seul renseignement: elle fut construite par les Anglais, qui l'eclairaient la nuit, afin de guider leurs soldats revenant d'expeditions nocturnes.'—*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. vii. pp. 349-352.

M. Lambert is mentioned as the discoverer of another of these 'lanternes des morts' at Bayeux, which M. de Caumont had originally described—owing to its then surroundings—as a chimney. —*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. vii. p. 540.

In vol. viii. of the same work (p. 598), is figured the fanal of Iournet. It has a square base, to one side of which is attached an altar slab supported at the back by an engaged column of thirteenth century design. Above it rises the circular, and apparently tapering, shaft of the column which terminates in a lantern with square-headed openings. The usual conical, or pyramidal head would seem to be nearly destroyed. Others are said to exist also at Château Larcher, and Antigny, but of these no illustrations are supplied.

A representation of another of these 'lanternes des morts,' of late twelfth, or early thirteenth century date, which exists at Celfrouin in the department of the Charente, is given in vol. xii. p. 444. It is of very striking and monumental aspect, closely resembling that already described at Fenioux. The shaft consists of a clustered column

having a polygonal base, and terminating in a conical cap surmounted by a cross. Like that at Fenioux too, it is approached by a flight of steps. The general character of the shafts with their capitals, strongly recalls those in the choir pillars at Ripon, with which indeed they are almost identical.

In the Limousin these structures are said to be still numerous:—'Quant aux lanternes des morts, elles sont encore nombreuses et variées de formes; rondes, octogones, carrées, ces colonnes ont toutes un autel orienteé à sa base. Le fanal de S. Gousseau présente cette peculiarité que l'on fait encore aujourd'hui la quête pour y entretenir la lampe qui pourtant n'est plus allumée.'

The most elegant of all, however, is perhaps that figured in vol. xiii. as occurring in the isle of Ré in Saintonge. It is of the thirteenth century, and composed of a long octagonal shaft, the angles of which, wrought into reed-like stems, are connected at their caps with pointed arches. This panelled shaft is surmounted by an open octagonal lantern of sharply pointed arches resting on slender pillars, and capped by a lofty spirelet which terminates in a cross.

Though instancing but a few of these once numerous structures still surviving in France, the examples given above may yet be taken, I think, as fairly representative of all the rest, and to point, as one might well imagine, with sufficient clearness, to their former use and origin. Such however, strange to say, is, or, at any rate, for a long time was, as far as possible from being the case. Even among the best informed archaeologists, the wildest and most preposterous ideas were entertained as to their purpose—so entirely, and in so short a space of time as that between the middle of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, had all real knowledge of them died out. Precisely as in the case of our own, so called, 'low side windows,' there prevailed everywhere a state of blank, abysmal ignorance; and 'ingenious people,' of whom, both at home and abroad, there was never any lack, amused themselves, from time to time, in ventilating whatever theory their passing fancy could suggest. Entirely unrestrained by historic, or other trammels, their perfervid imagination was allowed full scope, and, spurning all impediments, ran riot accordingly.

Dismissing this mass of 'clotted nonsense,' however, let us rather

turn to the rational and scholarly explanation offered by that most able architect and antiquary, the late M. Viollet le Duc, in vol. vi. of his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture Française*, pp. 154-161. Speaking of them under the term of 'Lanterne des Morts, Fanal, tournièle, phare,' he gives their structural definition as :—'Pile creuse en pierre terminée à son sommet par un petit pavillon ajouré percé à sa base d'une petite porte ;' and then, more speculatively, if less accurately, proceeds to explain their use as :—'Destinée à signaler au loin, la nuit, la présence d'un établissment religieux, d'un cimetière,' in illustration of which, perhaps, partially correct view, he adduces from the *Chronique de Rains* (xiii^e^ siécle), the following interesting, if not strikingly apt quotation :—'Adont moru Salehedins li miudres princes qui onkes fust en Paienie et fu enfouis en la cymitère S. Nicholai d'Acre de jouste sa mère qui moult ricement y fut ensévelie : et à sour eaus une tournièle bièle et grant, où il art nuit et jour une lampe plaine d'oile d'olive : et le paient et font alumer cil del hospital de S. Jehan d'Acre, qui les grans rentes tiènent que Salehedins et sa mère laissièrent.'

Then, turning to France, and such remains of this class of monuments as are still to be found there, he says :—'Les provinces du centre et de l'ouest de la France conservent encore un assez grand nombre de ces monuments pour faire supposer qu'ils étaient jadis fort communs. Peut-être, doit on chercher dans ces édifices une tradition antique de la Gaule celtique. En effet, ce sont les territories où se trouvent les pierres levées, les *menhirs*, qui nous présentent des examples assez frequent de lanterne des morts. Les mots *lanterne*, *fanal*, *phare*, *pharus ignea*, ont des étymologies qui indiquent un lieu sacré, une construction, une lumière. *Later*, *laterina*, en latin, signifient brique, lingot, bloc, amas de briques : Φανός, en grec, lumineux, flambeau ; Φανής, dieu de lumière ; *fanum*, lieu consacré ; *par*, en celtique, pierre consacrée ; *fanare*, reciter des formules de consecration. Le dieu celte Cruth-Loda habite un palais dont le toit est parsemé de feux nocturnes. Encore de nos jours, dans quelques provinces de France, les pierres levées dont on attribue, à tort selon nous, l'erection aux druides, passent pour s'eclairer, la nuit, d'elles-mêmes, et pour guérir les malades qui se couchent autour la nuit

précédent la Saint Jean. La pierre des Erables (Touraine), entre autres, prévient les terreure nocturnes. Il est bon d'observer que le *menhir* des Erables est percé d'un trou en part, ainsi que plusieurs de ces pierres levées. Ces trous n'etaient-ils pas disposés pour recevoir une lumière? et s'ils devaient recevoir une lumiére, ont-ils été percés par les populations qui primitivement ont éléve ces blocs, ou plus tard? Que les *menhirs* aient été des pierres consacrées à la lumière, au soleil, ou des pierres préservatrices destinées à détourner les maladies, à éloigner les mauvais esprits, ou des termes, des bornes, traditions des voyages de l'Hercule tyrien, toujours est-il que le phare du moyen âge, habituellement accompagné d'un petit autel, semble, particulièrement dans les provinces celtiques, avoir été un monument sacré d'une certaine importance. Il en existait à la porte des abbayes, dans les cimetières, et principalement sur le bord des chemins et auprès maladreries. On peut donc admettre que les lanternes des morts érigées sur le sol autrefois celtique ont perpétué une tradition fort antique, modifiée par le christianisme.

'Les premiers apôtres des Gaules, de la Bretagne, de la Germanie et des contrées scandinaves, éprouvaient des difficultés insurmontables lorsqu'ils prétendaient faire abandonner aux populations certaines pratiques superstitieuses. Souvent ils étaient contraints de donner à ces pratiques, qu' ils ne pouvaient détruire, un autre but et de les détourner, pour ainsi dire, au profit de la religion nouvelle, plutôt que de risquer de compromettre leur apostolat par un blâme absolu de ces traditions profondément enracinées. M. de Caumont pense que les lanternes des morts, pendant le moyen âge, étaient destineés particulièrement aux services des morts qu'on apportait de très loin et qui n'etaient point introduits dans l'église. Il admet alors que le service se faisait dans le cimetière que le fanal remplaçait les cierges. Cette opinion est partagée par M. l'abbé Cousseau. "Les églises mère (*ecclesiae matrices*) seules," dit M. Cousseau, "possédaient sans restrictions tous les droits qui se rattachent à l'exercise du culte. Cela résultait de ce que souvent le seigneur, en faisant donation d'une église à un corps religieux, apportait à sa libéralité cette restriction, que le droit de dîme, le droit de sépulture, &c., ne seraient pas compris dans la donation." Que les lanternes des morts aient été utilisées pour les

services funèbres dans les cimetières, le fait parait probable ; mais qu'on aît élévé des colonnes de plusieurs mêtres de hauteur pour placer à leur sommet, *en plein jour*, des lampes allumées dont personne n'aurait pu apercevoir l'éclat, et cela seulement avec l'intention de remplacer l'éclairage des cierges c'est douteux. Si les lanternes des morts n'eussent été destinées qu'a tenir lieu de cierges pendant les enterrements, il eût été plus naturel de les faire très-basses et disposées de manière que la lumière pût être aperçue de jour par l'assistance. Au contraire tout, dans ces petits monuments, parait combiné pour que la lampe que renferme leur lanterne supérieure puisse être vue de très-loin et de tous les points de l'horizon. M. Lecointre, archéologue de Poitiers, " remarque que les colonnes creuses ou fanaux étaient éléves particulièrement dans les cimetières qui bordaient les chemins de grande communication ou qui étaient dans les lieux très-frequentés. Il pense que ces lanternes étaient destinées à préserver les vivants de la peur des revenants et des esprits de ténèbres, de les garantir de ce *timore nocturno*, de ce *negotio perambulante in tenebris* dont parle le Psalmiste, enfin de convier les vivants à la prière pour les morts." Quant à l'idée qu'on attachait à ces monuments, au xii^e^ siècle par example, M. Lecointre nous parait être dans le vrai ; mais nous n'en sommes pas moins disposé à croire que ces colonnes appartiennent, par la tradition, à des usages ou à des superstitions d'une très-haute antiquité. Il est à regretter qu'il ne nous reste plus de lanternes des morts antèrieures au xii^e^ siècle ; il n'y a pas à douter de leur existence, puisqu'il en est parfois fait mention, entre autres à la bataille livrée entre Clovis et Alaric, mais nous ne connaissons pas la forme de ces premiers monuments Chrètiens.'

In every case without exception, indeed, so far as is known, the cross formed the terminal of these lanternes des morts, which thus practically, and to that extent, took the same place as the great churchyard crosses did among ourselves. So much so, that Durandus refers to the light proceeding from them under the designation of cross, only. And it is not a little interesting to note how exactly parallel the fate which has befallen both these classes of monuments has been, the one, at the hands of blaspheming French atheists, the other, at those of their counterparts in sacrilegious havoc, the English

Puritans, the same rabid hatred of the symbol of salvation inflaming both alike. As to our own churchyard crosses, though some few, here and there, have escaped unscathed, the great majority of them have perished. Nay '*ipsae periere ruinae*,' and in the whole diocese of Durham, the base and mutilated shaft of that at Witton-le-Wear are the only relics of the kind I know of.

But the cross did not constitute the only point in common between these several classes of monuments. Their position, for the most part, was identical—always southwards of the church, inclining sometimes to the west, sometimes to the east, but always southwards. Nor was that all. For just as the fanaux, though primarily light-pillars, were yet furnished with a cross, so our corresponding churchyard crosses, though primarily crosses, were yet, in many instances, furnished with lights. And then again, though for the most part, on a much larger scale, the Irish round towers so exactly reproduce in form, these French light-pillars, that, when drawn to different scales, one might very easily be mistaken for the other. Both these variants will need taking account of: and first of all, as bearing, perhaps, the closest analogy to these lanternes des morts, it will be convenient to notice briefly some of those churchyard crosses provided with niches whose scanty remains are still left to us, and of which I have been able to obtain some slight account.

Chapter XII.

Of churchyard crosses provided with niches for lamps.

If, as is only too evident, churchyard crosses are, nowadays, scarce and hard to meet with all the country over, it goes without saying that those possessing receptacles for lamps are much scarcer still. Whether the fashion prevailed generally, or, as might seem to be the case, was confined, more or less strictly, to certain districts, is not easy, with such scanty and imperfect notices of them as are readily accessible, to say. From such evidences as I have been able to meet with so far, however, it appears to pertain more particularly to the south-western counties of Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, and Devon. Whether this be owing solely or chiefly,

however, to the circumstance that the crosses thereabouts have more frequently escaped destruction than elsewhere, or that the percentage of these niched crosses was greater there than in other parts, is more than I can say. But, however that might be, their presence may very well help to explain a difficulty which constantly meets us, viz. : that while, in so many cases, we find 'low side windows' in the smallest village churches, not only singly, but in pairs, we fail to find any trace of them in others of far greater importance, and where they might naturally be looked for. Not, of course, that the two systems might not quite naturally go together ; but that in those cases where the more usual one of low side windows was, for some reason or other, not adopted, recourse might be had to the other as being equally effectual.

Indeed, the only difference between the lanternes des morts, and the niched churchyard crosses—not in principle, be it noted, but in degree—is that the relative importance given to their two constituent elements is reversed, the light being accorded the chief place in the one, the cross in the other. For though in both the cross, as of right, dominates the structure ; the light, which in the case of the lanternes des morts is always elevated, and commonly occupies the whole capacity of the shaft, in that of the churchyard crosses holds an exactly contrary position, being set not merely in, or just above the base, but confined to a comparatively small aperture. As the crosses, however, were always solid, and not hollow like the French lanternes and German Todtenleuchten, in which the lamp could be elevated by means of a cord or chain, this was a matter of necessity ; such position, at the same time, corresponding closely, as may be remarked, to that occupied by it in the low side windows generally, more especially in those numerous instances in which they were almost, if not quite, on the very surface of the ground. And thus, though the niches in the bases of the cross shafts were, in general, as proportionately smaller than the lanterns of the fanaux, as the crosses themselves were larger, yet this was not always so, since that at Cellefrouin, for instance, the earliest, and, in some respects, finest of all, has but one minute and narrow slit in its pyramid capable of emitting, and that in one direction only—just like the cross lamps—a very thin stream of

light indeed. So long as the light itself, however, the symbol of the divine power and protection, was there, its simple presence might, perhaps, be deemed sufficient, as well for the particular graves which it illuminated, as for those which it did not. But, whether this were, or were not, so, one conspicuous advantage possessed by the light in the cross, in common with the fanaux and Todtenleuchten, was that, being quite detached, its rays would, in many cases, be less liable to interruption, and could, therefore, command a far wider range than those placed within the church.

And here a highly curious and interesting example, perhaps unique, and occupying an intermediate place between the detached churchyard cross and low side windows, may be referred to, which occurs in the west wall of the south transept of Romsey abbey church, Hants. It consists of a large structural crucifix built up in the wall, of which it constitutes an integral part. Beside it southwards, and like itself, forming also part of the structure, is a niche—quite as large as many of the 'low side windows'—in the upper part of which is a flue or chimney for carrying off the smoke of the lamp, or other fire which burned from time to time within. That it was provided with a shutter—whether glazed or otherwise—is shewn by the perforations for the hinges. Originally, this niche and crucifix were contained in the eastern walk of the cloisters—now wholly destroyed. It is thought on the spot that the niche formerly held a brazier from which fire was obtained for the incense, but whether this were so or not—and the idea seems sufficiently unlikely—it would not in the least interfere with the nocturnal burning of a lamp, as elsewhere, in connexion with both the crucifix and cemetery, to the uses of which cloisters were so commonly applied.

Another, and very singular combination of the cross with a tabernacle and lantern for a light, is seen surmounting the gable of the south porch of Elkstone church, Gloucestershire; where the cruciform gabled saddle-stone, instead of being solid, and capping the water-tabling in the usual way, is not only hollow, but raised vertically to a height of six or eight inches, and open at both ends, so as to form a canopy for the reception of a lamp, at an elevation of

about eleven feet above the ground. Thus, the light, which would be raised to much the same level as that commonly obtaining among the fanaux and Todtenleuchten, would, though issuing—as at Ödenburg and Mattersdorf, among other instances—from two of the four sides only, diffuse its rays quite as effectually. How far, if at all, similar arrangements were adopted elsewhere, I cannot say. It is certainly interesting, however, in shewing by what a variety of ways the same end was reached.

A still further and more curious example, intermediate between the niched churchyard cross, andthe 'chapelles isolées,' or 'des morts,' occurs in the churchyard of Kinlet, Shropshire. It stands midway, and immediately eastward of the footpath leading from the gate to the south porch, and thus in close proximity to all passing to and fro. On plan it is a square, with gables surmounting four recesses. These latter are quite shallow towards the north, south, and east, and all are five feet four inches high, by three feet broad. The western recess is much more important. Here the arch is chamfered, and six feet and a half high, by three feet and a half broad, while no less than two feet eight inches deep. In the back of this recess, about half-way up, is a small niche, one foot nine inches high, by nine inches broad, and about six deep. There is also another niche over the large arch, which was doubtless designed as a canopy or shelter for those who knelt beneath. The entire structure serves to support the base of the churchyard cross proper, which, planted on the intersection of the four-gabled roof, rises there at an elevation of about ten feet above the ground. On a much larger scale, this remarkable erection, though perforated only on one side instead of two, reproduces almost exactly the little stone lantern at Elkstone.

Of the number of niched churchyard crosses, pure and simple, still existing, I am unable either to speak, or form any kind of estimate. But the examples which, so far, have come under my notice are sufficiently numerous and important to shew that they have constituted part of a distinct, and by no means unimportant, class—once, doubtless, very much more numerous than now. Of these, or rather their remains—for they are all more or less fragmentary—one of the most important is in the churchyard of

Colwall, Herefordshire, where the three massive steps, square base changing into an octagon, and part of the shaft, remain well preserved. The niche, which is crocketed and supported by pinnacles, is worked in the base as usual.

At Raglan, Monmouthshire, is another, the highly enriched and moulded square base of which is also worked into an octagon. Here, the niche, which has a segmental-pointed head, is in width eight and a half inches, by six and three quarters high, and three deep.

At Newland, Gloucestershire, where the broached base of the cross, two feet square, only remains, the cinquefoiled niche is ten inches high, eight wide, and five deep.

At S. Weonards, Herefordshire, where the base, supporting part of the shaft, is unprovided with steps, the shallow trefoil-headed niche occurs in one of the smaller sides, close upon the level of the soil.

At Lydney, Gloucestershire, the similarly-shaped niche, which is worked in the simple square base of the cross, is raised on an elevation of no fewer than seven steps.

At Broadwas, Worcestershire, the niche, which is quite plain, is, as at Newland and S. Weonards, placed just above the ground. The lower part of the cross shaft, worked, like the base, into an octagon, remains above.

At Brampton Abbots, Herefordshire, the churchyard cross, which has a sort of double, or two-staged base, has the niche placed in the lower one, just above the level of the two steps.

At Kingdon, Herefordshire, where the massive square base of the cross, and the lower part of the shaft remain, there is a plain, triangular headed niche, surrounded by a raised edging, and, apparently, about a foot high, by eight inches broad, and six deep. Unless originally placed upon a sub-base, the bottom of this niche would be all but level with the soil.

At Wonastow, Monmouth, the same plan is pretty nearly repeated. The massive square base worked into an octagon, and supporting the lower part of a flattened octagonal cross shaft, has a triangular niche, quite plain and square-edged, one foot three inches in height, by nine inches in width, and four deep, coming down to the very bottom, and level with the surface of the soil.

At Whitchurch, Herefordshire, the massive base stone is circular in two stages; and here again we find the same triangular headed niche, though with raised edgings as at Kingdon, coming down, in general outline, to the ground; but with the platform or footing for the lamp inside raised to the extent of about six or eight inches. This niche is one foot three inches high, in the full, one foot ten inches wide, and four and a half inches deep.

And here, I think, account may, perhaps, most conveniently be taken of another class of monumental details bearing more or less directly on the subject of 'low side windows.' Writing of the various ceremonies peculiar to Maundy Thursday and the two following days, Durandus says :—

'Consequenter candelae & lumen extinguntur, nam hae tenebrae tribus noctibus celebratae, significant tenebras quae tribus horis fuerunt Christo in cruce pendente, vel ideò tribus noctibus lumen extinguitur, quia verum lumen triduo jacuit in sepulchro. Circa quod advertendum est, quod quidam accendunt septuaginta duas candelas, quidam viginti quatuor, quidam quindecim, quidam duodecim, quidam novem, quidam septem, & secundum quosdam non est numerus certus, omnes tamen non sine mysterio agunt. Septuaginta duae candelae quae extinguntur, designant septuaginta duos ducipulos, quorum praedicatio in morte Christi penè extincta est significant etiam quod Dominus septuaginta duobus horis iacuit in sepulchro per synecdochen intellectus, vel tot accenduntur, propter lxxij. nationes seu genera linguarum. Viginti quatuor candelae accenduntur, Primo quia sol iste, qui mundum xxiiij. horis diei & noctis illuminat, significat Christum verum solem, qui extinguitur, quia Christus occubuit vespere passionis, & tenebrae factae sunt super universam terram. Secundo, dies cujus majus lumen Christus est, nox verò cujus lumen Ecclesia est, luminaria sunt Apostoli, & alii viri Apostolici, qui sunt quasi xxiiij. horae, quae diei Christo, & nocte Ecclesiae famuluntur. Viginti quatuor luminaria ergo extinguntur, quia Apostoli in unoquoque die per viginti quatuor horas latuerunt, &c. Quindecim candelae significant xij. Apostolos & tres Marias, quae sequebantur Dominum, quae extinguntur quoniam tunc omnes laudes Dei tacuerunt &c.

'Duodecim candelae accensae repraesentant duodecim Apostolos,

quae extinguntur, ad notandum quod Apostoli tunc siluerunt & fugerunt, & penè extincta est fides in eis. Novem Candelae significant genus humanum, quod per peccatum se à novem ordinibus angelorum, & à vera luce exclusit. Septem candelae significant gratiam spiritus septiformis, quae in cordibus discipulorum penè fuit extincta . . . Porrò omnes candelae non simul, sed una post aliam extinguntur, quia discipuli non simul à Christo, sed successivè unus post alium discesserunt . . . . . In quibusdam quoque Ecclesiis candelae quadam manu cerea extinguntur, quae significat manum Judae, de qua Dominus dixit. Qui intingit manum mecum, &c. Quae fuit quasi cerea, id est, ad malum flexibilis per quam Christus rex noster, & vera lucerna, traditus fuit, & quantum in illo fuit extinctus. *Candela autem, quae in medio est, non extinguitur, sed in fenestra vel arca accensa servatur occulte, ut posteà reveletur, & Ecclesiam illuminet.* Sanè candela quae ultima extinguitur, est major coeteris et significat Christum qui fuit Dominus prophetarum. . . . . Et ad canticum evangelicum candela ipsa extinguitur quia Christus evangelizans occiditur.' *Lib.* vi. *cap.* 72. *p.* 219 *dorso* 220.

Here then, during the ante-paschal ceremonies, we see a lighted candle set in a low side window sill looking towards the churchyard, and, beyond all dispute or question, representing the Person of the Lord. That of itself is a point sufficiently striking, and one which, in this connexion, cannot fail to attract attention. Nor does it stand alone, or without support; for in many French churches, low side windows are found, within which the light was placed, not alone, but accompanying the reserved sacrament; and thus, though in a far more solemn and striking way, acting as a lanterne des morts.

Of this, a very distinguished architect and archæologist of Paris, M. Camille Enlart, writing in answer to my enquiries, mentions one at Bar-sur-Aube, with a photographic illustration of which he also kindly supplied me. It occurs beneath the westernmost of the very lofty two-light windows of the pentagonal apse on the south side of the choir, and in a little lean-to projection contrived beneath its sill and between the apse buttresses of the choir and of a similarly planned, but lower chapel towards the south. Two others of which he also kindly sent photographs, are found in the churches of S. Peter at Villiers, near

Montmédy, and Warangeville near Nancy. Another is mentioned by him as occurring at Neufchâteau; and this arrangement, of which he goes on to say he has sketched many examples, is frequently met with in Lorraine, where, indeed, it is quite common and habitual. Referring to our English low side windows, he continues :—'Si toutefois certaines de ces fenètres étaient accompagnées d'une appareil de luminaire, ce seraient soit des tabernacles analogues à ceux de Lorraine soit des "lanternes des morts" regardant le cimetière de l'église. En Autriche les lanternes des morts prennent souvent la forme d'une niche ou guérite sur le mur extérieure de l'église, et à Agen (Corrèze), la lanterne des morts démolie récemment, etait une niche pratiquée dans une contrefort du chœur de l'église.'

Now besides the fact of the lanterne des morts referred to at Agen being placed, not, as usual, in a detached pillar, but in the wall of the church itself—one only, as can hardly be doubted, among many others of a similar class—this special form of 'windowed tabernacle' looking upon the churchyard, opens an interesting question as to whether some, at least, of our own low side openings may not have been devoted to the same purpose. I refer more especially to such as that at Berkeley, where the little quatrefoil, though internally connected with the window over it, is yet separated by the space of about a foot, and has evidently been designed to serve some other purpose. At Salford Priors too, among others, we have a similar example, and at Coombes, Sussex, another; where, though the two are connected, the separation is quite clear. But however this may be, the important fact remains that, not only is the circumstance of the lighted candle, representative of our Lord's person and office, being reserved in the sill of one of the church windows, during the Passion tide services witnessed to by Durandus; but that, in divers parts of France certainly—and therefore, probably elsewhere also, the consecrated Host, with a light burning before It, and serving as a lanterne des morts, occupied a similar position; and the inference consequently seems clear, viz., that what happened there might, under varying conditions, happen here too. In other words, that our diversified forms of low side windows played, as I have all along been contending from analogy that they did, the same part which

the fanaux, lanternes des morts, windowed tabernacles and Todtenleuchten did in France and Germany.

CHAPTER XIII.

'CHAPELLES ISOLÉES,' OR 'DES MORTS.'

Of these, though for the most part undescribed, at any rate, collectively, there would still seem to be great numbers existing in various parts of France. Two of special interest, but of widely different date and character, however, are given by M. Viollet le Duc in vol. ii. of his *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française*; while of others, mention may be found in various volumes of the *Bulletin Monumental*, and in M. de Caumont's *Cours d'Antiquités*, vol. vi., accompanied by many illustrations.

Of these, the earliest by far, if only the date given by M. V. le Duc be accepted, is that of Sainte Croix in the monastic cemetery of Montmajeur near Arles. This, he states, on the strength of documentary authority, to have been built in 1019, but the evidence of his own drawings and description shews clearly, I think, that it must be a full century later at the least. 'C'est un édifice,' says he, 'composé de quatre culs-de-four égaux en diametre, dont les arcs portent une coupole à base carrée; un porche précède l'une des niches [the western one] qui sert d'entrée . . . . L'intérieur n'est éclaré que par trois petites fenêtres percées d'un seul côté. La porte A [in the centre of the southern semicircle] donne entrée dans un petit cimetière clos de murs. La Chapelle de Sainte Croix de Montmajeur est bien bâtie en pierres de taille, et son ornamentation, très-sobre, exécutée avec une extrème délicatesse, rappele la sculpture des églises grecques des environs d'Athènes. Sur le sommet de la coupole s'élève un campanile . . . Les seules fenêtres éclairent cette chapelle s'ouvrent toutes trois sur l'enclos servant de champ de repos. La nuit, une lampe brûlait au centre du monument, et, conformément a l'usage admis dans les premières siècles du moyen âge, ces trois fenêtres projetaient la lueur de la lampe dans le charnier. Pendant l'office des morts un frère sonnait la cloche suspendue dans

le clocher du moyen d'une corde passant par un œil, réservé, a cet effet, au centre de la coupole.'

In this last statement, M. V. le Duc is, however, surely mistaken. The square open turret, surmounted by a spirelet which crowns the central cupola externally, would seem from all analogy far more likely to have served as a lantern than a belfry. Besides which, his section shews that the opening in the centre of the vault is altogether too small for the passage of a bell, though quite sufficient for that of a lamp, which, by means of a cord, could be raised or lowered from the floor at will. The idea here enunciated was precisely that arrived at I find, by the 'Congrès Scientifique de France' on the occasion of its thirty-fifth session held at Montpellier in 1868. In the account of its proceedings, given by M. de Caumont (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxiv., p. 907), it is said:—'La partie centrale de la pyramide en pierre qui forme la toiture a dû être percée pour donner passage à une lampe qu'on allumait vraisemblablement autre fois dans la lanterne qui forme le couronnement de l'édifice. Cette chapelle au milieu de tombes nombreuses creusées dans le roc devait effectivement être une chapelle funéraire avec son fanal comme celle de Fontevrault.' Should it have been as he supposes, however, as well it might, that a lamp hanging in the centre of the chapel before the altar also projected its rays through the three small windows to the east and south, then the arrangement might serve to explain that of other sepulchral chapels where external lanterns do not occur, and illustrate, in the directest way possible, the uses of our own so called 'low side windows.'

The other sepulchral chapel described and illustrated by M. V. le Duc is of strikingly different character and of later date. It occurs at Avioth (Meuse) and belongs to the fifteenth century. 'Cette chapelle est placée près de la porte d'entrée du cimetière; elle s'élève sur une plate-forme élevée d'un mètre environ au-dessus du sol; l'autel est enclavé dans la niche A; (at the back) à côté est une petite piscine. . . . On remarquera que cette chapelle est adroitement construite pour laisser voir l'officiant à la foule et pour l'abriter autant que possible du vent et de la pluie. Au-dessus des colonnes courtes qui, avec leur base et chapiteau n'ont pas plus de deux mètres de

haut, est posée une claire-voie, sorte de balustrade qui porte des fenêtres vitrées. Il est a croire que du sommet de la voûte pendait un fanal allumé la nuit, suivant l'usage; la partie supérieure de la chapelle devenait ainsi une grande lanterne.'

The chapel, which is of the richest detail throughout, is on plan a hexagon. The upper part, forming a splendid lantern of large glazed windows, and terminating in a spire of open work, is carried on low, detached columns; the whole, save a niche at the back which contains the altar, and the lower part of one of the adjoining sides, being open to the air. In this case, however it may have been in the preceding one, the light of the lamp was certainly distributed through the windows to the cemetery.

An example also of the highest interest, as well on account of its architectural character as of its ascertained history, is that of the chapel of S. Catherine, described at great length by the late Abbé Martin (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. vii., p. 540-4), and which formerly occupied the centre of the parish cemetery at Fontevrault. 'Son plan,' says he, 'est carré, mais chacun des angles est enveloppé par un contrefort légèrement saillant, ce qui lui donne en petit l'aspect d'un château fort flanqué de quatre tours. . . . . Le haut du monument est couronné par une légère saillie coupée en biseau, qui tourne aussi autour des contreforts. C'est sur cette saillie comme sur sa base qui vient s'appuyer la pyramide quadrangulaire en pierre qui sert de toit à cette chapelle. Chaque contrefort est aussi surmonté de sa pyramide quadrangulaire, mais plus aiguë que la grande. La partie la plus curieuse de ce petit edifice est au sommet de la grande pyramide. De ce point s'élève une tour octogone d'un petit diamètre, et de 4 à 5 mètres d'élévation. Elle porte à son sommet une charmante lanterne du plus gracieux effet. . . . . Entrons dans l'edifice . . . . rien ne peut être comparé à la grâce, à la légèreté, je dirais presque à la prétention de la charmante coupole qui forme la voûte . . . les nervures . . . s'arrêtent à la naissance de la petite tour qui couronne tout l'édifice, pour laisser apercevoir son intérieur et le jour mysterieux qui l'éclaire. C'est une heureuse pensée d'avoir entr'ouvert cette voûte de pierre sur la tete du chrétien agenouillé aux pieds des autels comme pour l'inviter à lever les yeux vers le ciel,' etc.

The date of this chapel with the name of its founder, and the amount of its endowment are all set forth in the following charter of Bertha, tenth abbess of Fontevrault :—

'Bertha Dei gracia Fontis Ebraudi abbatissa omnibus presentes litteras inspecturis salutem in Domino. Noveritis quod venerabilis Ala quondam ducissa Borbonii post vero multum tempore religiosa monialis et benefactrix nostra, dedit nostro consilio et assensu in puram et perpetuam eleemosinam capellam quam adstrui fecit de suo proprio in medio cimiterii nostri, in honore beatae Catherinae, XLIX. solidos quatuor denarios minores singulis annis percipiendis . . . Dedit iterum octo solidos dictæ capellæ . . . In festo Sancti Michaelis percipiendos . . . et 30 sectaria frumenti . . . ad luminare praefatae capellae faciendum . . . in eodem festo similiter recipienda. . . . Ut autem haec donatio firma et stabilis in perpetuum perseveret ad petitionem supradictae Alae presentes litteras sigilli nostri munimine facimus roborari. Actum anno gratiae MCCXV.' (*Gallia Christ. II. instrumenta*, col. 363).

M. A. Saint Paul mentions briefly (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxi. p. 143), the occurrence of another of these cemetery chapels at Sarremezan, in the pays de Comminges. He says it is of the thirteenth century, and adds :—'Cet édifice est fort simple, mais construit en pierres de taille ; on y voit le mélange du style roman et du style ogival. Souvent, dans nos campagnes, on rencontre ainsi des chapelles plus ou moins anciennes, soit dans les cimetières, soit au milieu des champs.'

Of that at Jouhé in Poitou, M. de Cougny says :—'Bien que depourvue de tout caractère architectural, la chapelle de Jouhé nous a semblé remonter au xvi^e^ siècle. Elle est située sur le bord de la place qui précède l'église paroissiale, et qui doit être un ancien cimetière . . . Au fond de l'abside de forme rectangulaire, sont representées la Création, la Chute originelle, et dans un angle l'Annunciation. A la voûte, on voit nôtre Seigneur accompagné des quatre Evangélistes . . . Les tableaux figurés sur les murs latéraux forment deux zones superposées, et separées par une bande ornée de quatre-feuilles. Ils representent le Dieu, les trois morts et les trois vifs, le Jugement dernier, la Nativité, l'Annonce aux bergers

et l'Adoration des Mages. Dans le zone inférieure toutes les figures sont noires, mais on s'aperçoit qu'elles ont été préalablement esquissées en traits rouges, etc.'

In the cemetery of Rochechouart is another, thus briefly described by M. l'abbé Arbellot :—'Hors de la ville, dans un angle du cimetière, on trouve la chapelle de Beaumossau (autrefois Moumossou, mauvais chemin). C'est une simple nef, à contreforts plats, avec un portail à l'ouest et une porte ogivale au sud-est. Elle fut bâtie vers 1280, par Foucard de Rochechouart, chanoine de Limoges, qui était le sixième fils d'Aimeric viii. vicomte de Rochechouart, et de Marguerite de Limoges.'—*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxiv. p. 411.

M. de Cougny speaks thus of that at Vignemont in Touraine :—'Située dans l'ancien cimetière du Pestiferés. C'était dans cette chapelle que l'on déposait autrefois les corps des personnes mortes de contagion, et qu'on célébrait pour elles l'office des défunts. Elle appartient au xii^e^ siècle et est aujourd'hui converte en grange.'—*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxv., p. 145-6.

Another of much interest is mentioned by M. de Caumont as still standing at Montmorillon in Poitou.—'L'octogone de Montmorillon,' says he. 'monument du xii^e^ siècle terminé par un toit pyramidal . . . était une chapelle sépulchrale. Avant 1772 cette chapelle était, comme celle de Fontevrault, terminé par une lanterne ou fanal.' M. de Coigny, however (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxiv.), gives a much fuller account of this monument, the erection of which, it appears, was ascribed by the antiquaries of the 18th century, to the Druids! Like nearly all the German examples, to which attention will be called presently, it was provided with a subterranean chamber or crypt, which served the purpose of a charnel, or bone-house. 'La chapelle supèrieure,' he tells us, 'est voutée en coupole surhaussée, renforcée de nervures toriques retombent sur des chapiteaux à crochets. Chaque pan de l'octogone est orné d'arcatures ogivales. Vis-à-vis la porte d'entrée se trouve une abside rectangulaire, eclairée par une petite fenêtre. Cette abside occupe un des pans de l'octogone. A l'exterieure cette exèdre est surmontée d'un petit cloches-arcade a simple fronton, imitant une haute lucarne. A gauche de cette partie de l'octogone un escalier étroit, à marches élevées, menagé

dans l'epaisseur du mur, descend dans la crypte. De cette crypte, suivant Montfaucon, un chemin large de plus d'une toise, et long d'environ cent, conduit à la rivière. Dans la chapelle supérieure, et à gauche de la porte d'entrée, un escalier pratiqué, comme le précédent, dans l'epaisseur du mur, sert a monter sur le sommet de la coupole. De la sans doute, on pouvait élever et descendre le fanal placé dans la lanterne. La colonne supportant cette lanterne était, suivant Montfaucon, un tuyau de grandeur toujours égale, long de quatre toises.'

In Mr. R. J. Johnson's fine folio on Early French Architecture is given (pl. xxxi.) a view of another early chapel of this kind standing in the cemetery of Breteuil (Oise). It is a small building thirty-eight feet seven inches long, by twenty-three feet three inches wide in the full externally, and resembles in all respects the detached chancel of a village church, only loftier and more dignified. Rectangular on plan, and two bays in length, it is supported at the sides and ends by broad flat pilaster buttresses in stages, and a short intermediate one in the centre of the east gable. It is lighted by simple round-headed windows, one in each bay, and three towards the east, between and above which are two circular lights or oculi, another being placed above the westernmost of the two south windows. Here, as in many other instances, there would *seem* to have been no external lantern, and the light of the nocturnal lamp, if such were burnt, must therefore necessarily have been diffused by means of one or more of the windows.

M. du Chatelier, writing on the subject of this class of structures (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxiv. pp. 94-5) mentions the curious example of one near the cathedral church of Quimper, which was devoted almost exclusively to the double purpose of a mortuary and baptismal chapel. He says:—'dans une copie des statuts de l'ancien chapitre de Kemper (Quimper), siège de l'évêché de Cornouailles, on trouve un capitulaire daté de 1354, où il est parlé de plusieurs dispositions à suivre par les parents du défunt, qui portaient sa depouille mortelle dans la chapelle du baptistère, voisine de la cathédrale, pour la veille et la nuit: *per noctandum et vigilandum*; que cette même chapelle, affectée aux baptêmes et à la veillée des morts, était pour

la ville et la banlieue à peu près exclusivement reservée aux veillées dont nous parlons.

'Malheureusement, quand un de nos évêques, M. de Rosmadec, en 1426, jeta bas l'ancienne église pour la reconstruire, le pauvre baptistère fut sacrifié et avec lui les veillées des morts probablement.

'Cet usage cependant n'était pas isolé, et les deux évêchés de Cornouailles et de Léon, qui forment aujourd' hui le territoire du departement du Finisterre, possédent encore plusieurs chapelles mortuaires du genre de celle que les statuts du chapitre de Kemper mentionnent expressément.

'Nous pouvons citer entre autres les paroisses de Loctudy et de Pleyben, dans l'évêché de Cornouailles; celles de Comana, de Guicmillian, de Lampaul, de Goulven, dans l'évêché de Leon.

'La plupart de ces chapelles, dont la fondation remonte au xiv^e^ siècle, portent extérieurement et sur les rampants de leurs toitures, des signes non équivoques de leur destination. Toutes sont placées dans les cimetières, cela va sans dire; et quelques-unes, comme celles de Guicmillian et de Pleyben, sont accompagnées, outre l'ossuaire de rigeur, de beaux calvaires où la sculpture a developpé par des groupes nombreux les scènes de la passion et de la vie du Seigneur.'

Chapter XIV.

OF IRISH ROUND TOWERS.

Following that ultimate development of the 'fanaux,' or 'lanternes des morts,' the 'chapelles isolées;' it will be convenient, next in order, and before examining their counterparts, the German 'Todtenleuchten' and 'Rundcapellen,' to take account of another class of buildings to which, in some respects, the 'fanaux' seem more intimately allied—'the round towers of Ireland.'

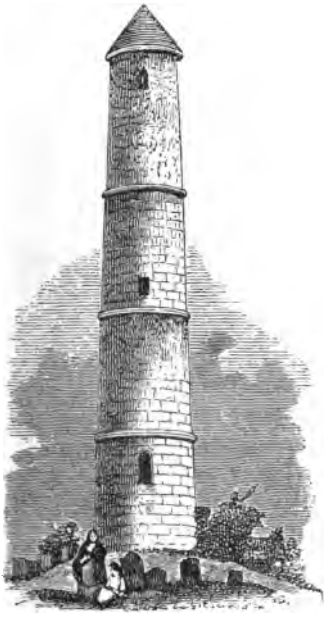
Of these, though many would seem to have perished, there are still very considerable remains, most of them in wonderfully good condition.

Their history, as a whole, has been thoroughly investigated by the late Dr. Petrie; and their construction, and geological peculiarities,

by Mr. Geo. Wilkinson, the two best authorities who have treated the subject from those several points of view respectively.

The following is the list of those still standing, as supplied by the latter: —

Aghavuller, Kilkenny. Only about thirty feet remaining.
Antrim. Perfect; over ninety feet high; door about ten feet above ground.
Ardmore, Waterford. Nearly perfect; conical cap; door about ten feet above ground. See view annexed.
Cashel, Tipperary. Nearly perfect; conical top; four openings below it.
Clondalkin, Dublin. Conical top; four square openings below.



ARDMORE, WATERFORD.

DEVENISH, FERMANAGH.

Castledermot, Kildare. Less than usual height; connected by passage with church; has upper openings only.
Clones, Monaghan. Imperfect and ruinous; holes for floors inside.
Cloyne, Cork. Lofty tower; stones wonderfully fitted, as though filed.
Devenish, Fermanagh. See illustration above.
Donoughmore, Meath. No top windows. For doorway, see illustration, p. 159.
Fortagh. Above usual height; top imperfect.
Glendalough, St. Kevin's Kitchen. See p. 157.
Kells, Meath. Usual height; five windows at top.

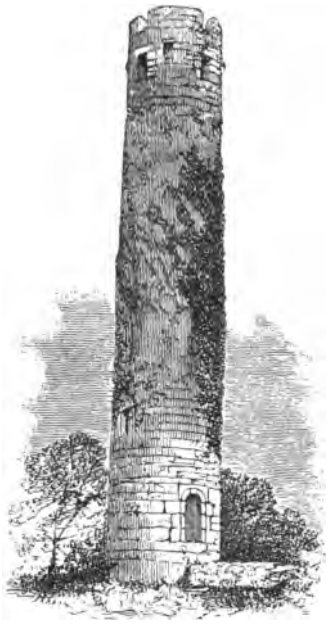
Keneith, Cork. Top wanting; hexagonal base.

Kilcullen, Kildare. Considerable height, but wanting top.

Kildare. Above usual height; five openings at top; late twelfth century.

Killala, Mayo. Perfect; usual height; with four angle-headed top windows.

Killmallock, Limerick. Less than usual height; three doorways, one on level of church, with which the tower is connected; one a few feet above the church, from which there are high steps; the third about level with the parapet of the church.



KILREE, KILKENNY.

Kilree, Kilkenny. Above usual height; upper openings square-headed. See illustration.

Lusk, Dublin. Considerable height; four square-headed openings at top.

Meelick, Mayo. Nearly perfect; but top wanting.

Monasterboice, Louth. Top gone, with many feet of walling.

Rathmichael, Dublin. Only a stump; thought to have been left unfinished.

Rattoo, Clare. Usual height; conical top; four large openings below.

Roscrea, Tipperary. Perfect, except top.

Swords, Dublin. Conical top; door about twenty feet from ground; four large openings at top.

Timahoe, Queen's County. Nearly one hundred feet high; conical top; and almost perfect.

Turlough, Mayo. Usual height; with conical top, and four upper lights.

Tighadoe, Kildare. Less than usual height; and top without usual openings.

S. Canice, Kilkenny. Rather above usual height.

Seven Churches, King's County. Large tower. Usual height; openings at top square.

Seven Churches, Do. Small tower; less than usual height; and nearly perfect; door on ground, and opens into a small chapel.

Seven Churches, Wicklow. Average height; top wanting; four large square-headed windows below it.

The foregoing embraces nearly the whole of the round towers which remain. At Killossey, in Kildare, is one of peculiar form, having a larger base, and being of less than the usual height. At Kilmacduagh, Galway, is one of usual height, but leaning consider-

ably. At Ram's Island, on Lough Neagh, and at Tory Island, on the western coast of Donegal, are also round towers. There would seem, therefore, to be at least, some six and thirty of these round towers still standing, in a more or less perfect state, all placed in cemeteries, and in connexion with, or attached to, churches.

And now, as to the origin and uses of these towers. Exactly as in the case of the 'low side windows,' and of the 'fanaux,' or 'lanternes des morts,' speculation has had a 'fair field'; and the

ST. KEVIN'S KITCHEN, GLENDALOUGH.

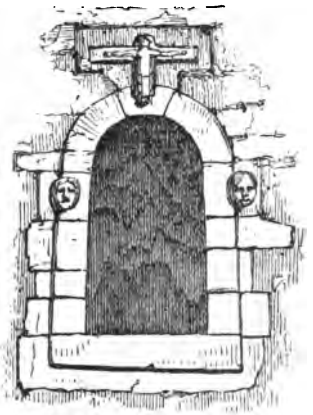
wildest of wild guess-work, every 'favour.' Local antiquaries were for the most part long divided as to the source of their introduction, one section attributing it to the Danes; the other, and more ambitious, to the Phoenicians! And then as to their uses—all kinds, possible and impossible, were advanced from time to time, with the utmost confidence, and backed by arguments as endless as unintelligible. They were fire temples—places from which to proclaim Druidical festivals—gnomons, or observatories—phallic emblems, or

Buddhist temples—anchorite, or stylite columns—penitential prisons —belfries—keeps, or monastic castles—and finally, beacons, or watch towers.

Foremost, as well as most voluminous, of all these busy theorists, was the renowned General Vallancey, who, with an overwhelming display of Old Irish, Persian, Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Chaldee, Perso-Scythian, Hindoo, and Syriac quotations, endeavoured to prove their Phoenician, Persian, Indo-Scythian, Formosian, or African sea-champion, origin—the last named dating from shortly after the Noachian deluge! Seduced by all this show of pseudo-learning, he secured, naturally enough, a considerable following to change with him in all his changing moods. His first contention, propounded in 1772, was that they were Phoenician, or Indo-Scythian fire-temples, in which the Irish Druids kept the holy fire with which, every recurring May-day, all the people were required to supply themselves. Then came the discovery that they were introduced by the 'African sea-champions.' After that, that they were sorcerers' towers; and after that, again, observatories, where, after the manner of the Canaanites of old, the Irish Druids observed the revolution of the year, festivals, &c., by dancing round them. Then again, discarding all his former theories, he finds they were not African, or Phoenician towers at all, but those of the Persian, or Chaldaean Magi. No longer towers for celestial observations, or for proclaiming anniversaries, or sorcerers' towers, or towers for Druids to dance around—they are now 'fire towers,' for the restored religion of Zerdust, or Zoroaster!

And so on, and so on, with interminable speculations and wranglings as to the precise force and scope of (generally unintelligible) ancient Irish terms—charges, and counter charges of ignorance, disingenuousness, perversion, fraud, invention and falsehood, *more Hibernico*, to the utter 'weariness of the flesh.' Alas, for poor General Vallancey and all the tribe of contemporary, and later disputants! Had they but possessed the faintest knowledge even of their own home architecture, what cataracts of ink, and what amount of heart, and head achings, might they not have spared both themselves, and other people too! Marvellous weavers of fancies, but, all the while, blankly ignorant of facts, which, staring them in

the face, falsified them all completely. For that these towers are not only of Christian origin, but of dates varying, in some few cases, from, *perhaps*, the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, is shown, by the internal evidence of *style alone*, beyond dispute. Not only do Christian emblems occur upon several of them (as in the accompanying illustration), but in that of Kildare, for example, though thought even by Dr. Petrie, to to have been reckoned of great antiquity in the twelfth century, the details, so far from supporting any such idea, belong to quite the latter part of it, *i.e.*, to the Transitional Norman style, simply *Irished*. And, moreover, it is worthy of note that, though some few *may be*, and possibly are, to some small extent, perhaps, of as early a date as that claimed for them by Dr. Petrie, yet the first authentic notice of their existence is one which refers to the burning of that at Slane, in 950; while the earliest authentic record of the erection of such a tower is in connexion with that of Tomgrancy, in Clare, by bishop Cormachus Hua-Killene, in 964. As to that at Armadown, in the county of Galway, now destroyed, the *Annals of the Four Masters* fixes the date of its construction as late as the year 1238.



DONOUGHMORE, MEATH.

The questions of origin, and date therefore, being clearly established, it remains to take account, first of their construction, and then of the purposes to which they were applied.

They are found, according to Dr. Petrie's account of them, to be 'rotund, cylindrical structures, usually tapering upwards, and varying in height from fifty to, perhaps, one hundred and fifty feet; and, in external circumference, at the base, from forty to sixty feet, or somewhat more. They have usually a circular projecting base consisting of one, two, or three steps, or plinths, and are finished at the top with a conical roof of stone, which, frequently, as there is every reason to believe, if not always, terminated with a cross formed of a

single stone. The wall, towards the base, is never less than three feet in thickness, but is usually more, and occasionally five feet, being always in accordance with the general proportions of the building. In the interior they are divided into storeys, varying in number from four to eight, as the height of the towers permitted, and usually about twelve feet in height. These storeys are marked either by projecting belts of stone, set-offs or ledges, or holes in the wall to receive joists on which rested the floors, which were almost always of wood. In the uppermost of these storeys the wall is perforated by two, four, five, six, or eight apertures, but most usually four, which sometimes, though not always, face the cardinal points. The lowest storey, or rather its place, is sometimes composed of solid masonry, and when not so, it has never any aperture to light it. In the second storey the wall is usually perforated by the entrance doorway, which is generally from eight, to thirty feet from the ground, and only large enough to admit a single person at a time. The intermediate storeys are each lighted by a single aperture placed variously, and usually of very small size, though in several instances, that directly over the doorway is of a size little less than that of the doorway, and would appear to be intended as a second entrance.'

In this last particular, however, Dr. Petrie's conjecture would seem to be altogether beside the mark, the use of the larger opening immediately overhead, being much more probably that of the machicoulis above the entrances of castles, and other fortified places, viz., to enable those inside to protect themselves by lowering, or precipitating therefrom beams, stones, or other missiles on the heads of the besiegers. And this, at once, brings us to the consideration of the several purposes which these towers were meant to serve. For that—unlike the 'fanaux' and 'Todtenleuchten,' of France and Germany—they had, and, from the first, were meant to have, more uses than one is clear; just as clear, indeed, as that those structures had, and could have had, but one, and one use only. In either case, the structural peculiarities leave no doubt on this point whatever. As compared with these Irish towers, both 'Todtenleuchten' and 'fanaux,' are for the most part, of very small and slight dimensions indeed; varying, as regards the former more especially, from simple

pillar-lanterns, some ten or twelve feet high, to richly decorated shafts of thirty—the 'fanaux,' which are usually of more equal height, ranging between twenty and thirty, or somewhat more. But, whatever the actual size of either one or other may be, it is evident that their purpose was a single one, viz.: that of light-houses, accompanied commonly, in the case of the 'fanaux,' by a small altar slab projecting from the base. Simple hollow shafts or tubes of stone, with one or more openings for light above, and a small door with wooden shutter, just sufficient for trimming and adjusting the lamp below, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to conceive their serving any other use than that for which they were so manifestly designed, and which the names they have always borne—'perpetual,' or 'poor souls' lights,' 'lanterns,' or 'light-houses of the dead,' describe so well. For this they sufficed perfectly—for nothing more.

As to the round towers, it is quite otherwise. Striking as their similarity to the fanaux is—so striking, indeed, that, if drawn to different scales, the one might often be readily taken for the other—their dissimilarity is just as striking. And this comes out most strongly and readily, perhaps, with respect to bulk. Though, like both fanaux and Todtenleuchten, varying considerably in this respect, yet the smallest of these towers by far exceeds, both in height and breadth, the largest of *either class* of those structures. From fifty to, perhaps, a hundred and twenty or thirty feet high; with strongly built walls, averaging about four feet in thickness, and having, in many instances, the lower storey filled in solid; with single, narrow, doorways placed at heights varying from eight or ten, to about thirty feet above the ground; divided into several storeys communicating with each other, and all of them with the top; it becomes obvious at a glance, that they were needed to meet requirements of which the fanaux and Todtenleuchten were incapable. And what those requirements were, is made as clear from their own internal evidence of design as—again like the 'Todtenleuchten' and 'fanaux'—from the names by which they have all along been known.

Their isolated position, though always in close connexion with churches; their not only relatively, but actually, great height; their massive construction, internal capacity and fittings; the character

of their doorways and other openings, declare at once, and in a way there is no mistaking, that defence of the persons and property of the ecclesiastics, as well as of others, was at least one of the primary objects of their erection. Otherwise, such arrangements could have no meaning.

But then, these very arrangements point to something more than a merely defensive purpose, however admirably designed to that end. The single small aperture which was deemed sufficient for the lighting and ventilation of each of the lower storeys, gives place in the upper one to others of larger size, varying from as many as eight to four, the usual number, and commonly facing the cardinal points. Such, in England, and, as a rule, everywhere else, is, as need hardly be said, the number of windows in all square-towered belfries of whatever size; and that this also was another primary use, may be safely inferred, not merely from inherent fitness and analogy, but from their original and universal designation of 'cloictheac,' a bell-tower. And such, as Dr. Petrie tells us, is the name they go by at the present day; and not without reason, since, in some of them, bells are hung still. Yet, for all that, their compound use as keeps has never been lost sight of, either traditionally or historically; as witness, among many other notices of a like kind, the following from the *Annals of the Four Masters*: 'A.D. 948. The cloictheach of Slane was burnt by the Danes, with its full of reliques and good people, with Caoinechair, Reader of Slane, and the crozier of the patron saint, and a bell, the best of bells.'

Nor, yet again, would the uses for which they were designed seem to have been limited to those of keeps and belfries, as, in disturbed districts happened so frequently, both at home and abroad. As Dr. Petrie so well points out, the mistakes of all the Irish antiquaries at, and up to his time, was that of confining the purpose of those towers to one single issue exclusively; a course which—involving them, as it necessarily did, in endless altercations—while failing altogether in the establishment of any one theory, proved only the inability of their several authors to understand the many-sided aspects of their subject.

Besides being meant for belfries and keeps, he distinguishes a further intention in their design, viz., that of watch-towers or beacons. This view he bases on the fact of their having been used

as places of defence and refuge, coupled with their aptitude for such purposes, and which would lead to their being used at night time to attract and guide travellers to places of hospitality and prayer. And he felt himself confirmed in the belief by the authority of Dr. Lingard, whose opinion was 'that the Irish round towers were chiefly, if not exclusively, intended for this purpose.' This opinion he would seem to have founded largely upon Wolstan's description of the new tower of Winchester cathedral, as built by bishop Elphege, the successor of Athelwold, who had commenced, but not finished, the work at the time of his death, in 984. In his poetical letter to Elphege, he gives, among other details, a particular account of the great central tower as constructed by that prelate, as follows :

'Insuper excelsum fecistis et addere templum
Quo sine nocte manet continuata dies
Turris ab axe micat, quo sol oriendo coruscat
Et spargit lucis spicula prima suae.
Quinque tenet patulis segmenta oculata fenestris
Per quadrasque plagas pandit ubique vias
Stant excelsa tholis rostrata cacumina turris
Fornicibus variis et sinuata micant.
Quae sic ingenium docuit curvare perituum
Quod solet in pulchris addere pulchra locis
Stat super auratis virgae fabricatio bullis
Aureus et totum splendor adornat opus.'

. . . . . .

'Additur ad specimen stat ei quod vertice gallus
Aureus ornatu grandis et intuitu.

. . . . . .

Impiger imbriferos qui suscipit undique ventos
Seque rotundo suam praebet eis faciem.'

Thus Englished, by the late Professor Willis, in the Winchester volume of the Arch. Institute, p. 14, 1846 :

'Moreover, you have added a lofty temple, in which continual day remains, without night' (to wit) 'a sparkling tower that reflects from heaven the first rays of the rising sun. It has five compartments pierced by open windows, and on all four sides as many ways are open. The lofty peaks of the tower are capped with pointed roofs, and are adorned with various and sinuous vaults, carved with well-skilled contrivance.' 'Above these stands a rod with golden balls, and at the top a mighty golden cock which boldly turns its face to every wind that blows.'

Dr. Lingard, it may be added, understood the expression, 'Quo sine nocte manet continuata dies,' to imply distinctly that the windows

of the tower were illuminated all night through; and such would certainly seem to be its natural meaning, though I am not aware of any other instance of a central tower being used for such a purpose. But that it could not have been intended for use as a pharus, or light-house to guide belated travellers over dangerous wastes, as, to some extent, owing to their sites, and the normal condition of the country, might not improbably have been the case with most of the Irish round towers, seems evident from its wholly converse circumstances. For such as might possibly have obtained there, and which here, certainly in some instances, as in the great plain at York and the fens at Lincoln, led to the erection of the well-known lantern towers of All Saints Pavement, in the one case, and of S. Botolph's Boston, in the other, find no place at all in that of Winchester. Its main purpose must evidently have been of a more restricted kind, viz., that of a fanal, for the use, not so much of the absent as of the present; not for travellers, but for those at rest; not for the living, but for the dead.

Such was certainly the nature of the light pillar referred to by Mabillon in his *Iter Germanicum*—and not a little interesting in this connexion—as occurring in the Irish monastery of S. Columbanus at Luxovium, or Luxeuil, in Burgundy, and of which he says:—'*Luxovium*. Cernitur prope Majorem Ecclesiae Portam Pharus, quam Lucernam vocant, cujus omnino consimilem vidi aliquando apud Carnutas. Ei usui fuisse videtur, in gratiam eorum, qui noctu ecclesiam frequentabantur.'

But Mabillon, it is clear, knew no more of the fanaux than M. de Caumont, and the generality of the French antiquaries of his day. To whatever uses this at Luxeuil might happen to have been applied at the time of his visit; whatever ideas as to its original purpose may then have existed; and by whatever name it may have been known to those upon the spot, there cannot be the least doubt, either from its character or position, that it was simply one of the old 'lanternes des morts'—neither more nor less.

The idea of these pillar lights, however, being intended primarily to guide wayfarers, entirely unhistorical and absurd as it is, has yet, all along, taken strong hold of the imaginations of French antiquaries,

as offering, perhaps—notwithstanding their utter unfitness—some sort of practical solution of their meaning. To shew a light to those purely imaginary people who, declining for some occult reason, to 'frequent' the church like everybody else by day, were supposed to do so by night instead, 'seemed,' it appears, superficially, and to such as took no pains to enquire, quite a rational explanation of their *raison d'être*. But then the single word '*videtur*' which implies, and with perfect truth, real ignorance of the case, gives it away, as will be observed, completely. The connexion of this fanal with the Irish monastery at Luxeuil, however, is sufficiently interesting. There under wholly altered conditions, we see a corresponding change of plan. No longer needed as places of refuge or treasure houses; inadequate as belfries where many bells existed; the other use of the round towers still remained, and to such, and such only, this one at Luxeuil was naturally applied. Had it at all approached those of the mother country, either in height or other particulars, Mabillon would, doubtless, have taken due notice of the fact; but he does nothing of the kind. On the contrary, he states precisely that it was just such another as he had observed at Carnutas, in other words, one of the usual French type.

The true explanation of these 'fanaux,' be it said, must be sought elsewhere than at Luxeuil, and in earlier and better informed authorities on such matters than Mabillon. And it will be found, ready to hand, in the cemetery of the abbey of Cherlieu, and in the account of the 'fanal' there given by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluni, who dying in 1156, lived, consequently, while the earliest of those which have come down to us were being built, and when the uses to which they were applied were not only thoroughly understood, but practised. In his description of that place, he says:—'Obtinet medium cimeterii locum structura quaedam lapidea habens in summitate sua quantitatem unius lampadis capacem, *quae ob reverentiam fidelium ibi quiescentium, totis noctibus fulgore suo locum illum sacratum illustrat, &c.*'

Not a syllable, be it observed, about its lighting the way for those afflicted with the strange desire of visiting churches in the dark, to whom both Mabillon and De Caumont refer so confidently. Nothing

whatever about belated travellers, pilgrims, delayed funerals—from 'over the hills and far away'—putrescent corpses too far gone to be allowed inside, bands of marauding soldiery, vine dressers, or other such like figments of uninformed imagination, but contrariwise and simply—the surrounding dead.

And here, let me call attention to the force of the singularly appropriate—not to say technical—word, 'reverentiam,' adopted in his explanation. Now, the first and chief sense of the verb 'revereor,' as given by Dr. Smith is—'to stand in awe or fear of; "after that," to respect, honour, or revere.' And it need hardly be urged, I think, how the presence of the dead both is, and ever has been, accompanied by feelings of awe—nay, in some mysterious way, of fear. What wonder then that such feelings should find special expression and intensity in these places where the dead of centuries lie interred! and how naturally do they become increased and magnified at night time, and in the dark, when all things living are absent and we are left alone in the midst of that silent and solemn company! How instinctively does everyone, without exception, under such circumstances, crave eagerly for light as a protective in some sort against that undefined, but very real and very present '*timore nocturno*' and that *negotio perambulante in tenebris*, of which the Psalmist—as all experience teaches—tells so truly.

Here then, in the first place, and merely from the standpoint of the spectator, may we see a reason for the use of the word 'reverentiam,' in the sense of awe, or fear. The cemetery light served, it is clear, more purposes than one; it not only 'helped to protect, as with a shield,' those who 'were alive and remained' upon the earth, but those also who had left it and lay below. But, though doubtless affording comfort to the living, such use was still wholly subordinate to that other, and fundamental one of succouring and defending the dead. If it helped to preserve the one from that natural fear of apparitions and 'phantoms of the night,' which has haunted all mankind at all times, apparently; it was held to preserve 'the bodies of the saints which slept,' from infinitely greater and more dreadful terrors, viz:—those of demoniacal possession and defilement. That, we learn, was the chief end and object of the existence of those

'lanternes des morts,' the best, and most practical way in which those who had been dear to them, and to whom their memory was still dear, could exhibit their respect and 'reverence.'

Considering then, the close and striking similarity observable in so many points between these 'lanternes des morts' and the 'round towers of Ireland,' how, it may well be asked, is it possible to doubt their main identity of purpose? Found constantly in close proximity to churches, while yet detached from them; always, and without exception, in the midst of cemeteries, pillar-like and rotund of form, terminating in conically shaped roofs surmounted by the cross, and pierced normally at their summits with four (or sometimes more) openings facing, commonly, the four cardinal points; built by people of cognate race who held constant intercourse with each other; holding the same faith, possessed with similar superstitions, it would be strange, indeed, if coincidences so striking and various, were purely accidental, and disconnected with the one central fact which would lead up to, and explain them all. The only and wholly unimportant differences which exist between the 'fanaux' and the 'round towers' are due simply to those developments demanded by the special and peculiar circumstances of the latter, and in no way affect the primary purpose common to them both. What that purpose was, as regards the former, the highest and most unquestionable contemporary authority has told us, and there cannot, I think, on the most searching and dispassionate view of the case, be any reasonable doubt but that the same '*reverentiam fidelium ibi quiescentium*,' was the real and constraining motive in both instances alike.

Chapter XV.

OF THE GERMAN 'TODTENLEUCHTEN.'

Turning now from that branch of our subject as exhibited in the 'round towers of Ireland'—which, though so much loftier and bulkier than the French 'fanaux,' most nearly resemble them in general outline—we arrive at length at that final and specially interesting group of monuments of the like kind, the German 'Todtenleuchten,' 'Armenseelen' or 'Ewigelichte.' Together with their

associated 'Rundcapellen' and 'Karner,' they present in principle as strikingly close a parallel to the French 'lanternes des morts,' and 'chapelles isolées,' as could well be imagined. In respect of form, however, they display, generally some distinctive features. For example, the early German form of 'Rundcapellen,' or circular graveyard chapels, is seldom, if ever, seen in France, while the 'Lichtsaulen,' or 'Todtenleuchten,' instead of being circular like so many of the French 'fanaux,' would seem, as a rule, never to be so by any chance whatever.

Though many of these perpetual lights still remain, great numbers—as in the case of the 'fanaux'—owing to their isolated position and comparative slenderness and unimportance, appear to have perished. For, though some of them were as lofty as, and much more highly enriched than, any of the fanaux of which any evidence exists; very many, on the other hand, would seem to have been plain, simple, pillar-lanterns, only some ten feet, or so, in height, and of little or no architectural pretension at all.

Whatever remains of these light-pillars of an earlier date may happen to be found in divers out of the way places—as is every way likely to be the case—it is yet not a little remarkable that the earliest of which any generally accessible account is obtainable, dates only from the latter part of the fourteenth century. The fanaux, on the contrary, are, for the most part, far earlier, ranging from about the middle of the twelfth, to that of the fourteenth century, when chapels, in some shape or other, began to supersede them. But, though only beginning—so far as recorded examples witness—where the lanternes des morts left off, the Todtenleuchten continued to hold their own all along till the use of such appliances commonly 'ceased and determined.'

As to the mortuary or graveyard chapels, they would seem to have existed, both in France and Germany, from a very early period, that of S. Croix, near Arles, dating, as we have already seen, from the year 1019; while their generic German name of 'Rundcapellen,' which points to their circular form, wherein all the details are in the early round arched style, points, with sufficient clearness, to the primitive period to which the more ancient of them belong. In

later times, these ancient circular chapels gave place to others of polygonal shape, and more elegant and ornate character. Of these a very beautiful example may be seen in that known as the Anna chapel, attached to the church of Heiligenstadt. Though now called a baptistry, there cannot, I think, be any doubt, judging as well from its form as from the lantern which so conspicuously crowns its summit, that it was originally, as the late Mr. Fergusson, in whose fine work a view of it appears, was fully convinced, really one of the later graveyard chapels, a more typical illustration of which it would be difficult to find. As to the earlier fashion, the diagrams given in vol. vii. of the *Mittheilungen* of the Austrian Government, p. 319, may serve to show the typical character of those commonly erected during the eleventh and twelfth centuries throughout Bohemia. In all examples of this class, the everlasting light which burnt before the altar, must either have hung so high as to project its rays directly from the lantern; or, which would seem far more likely, been supplemented by another in that position, the usual, and, comparatively, feeble altar light shining only, so far as it could do so at all, through the east and two side windows.

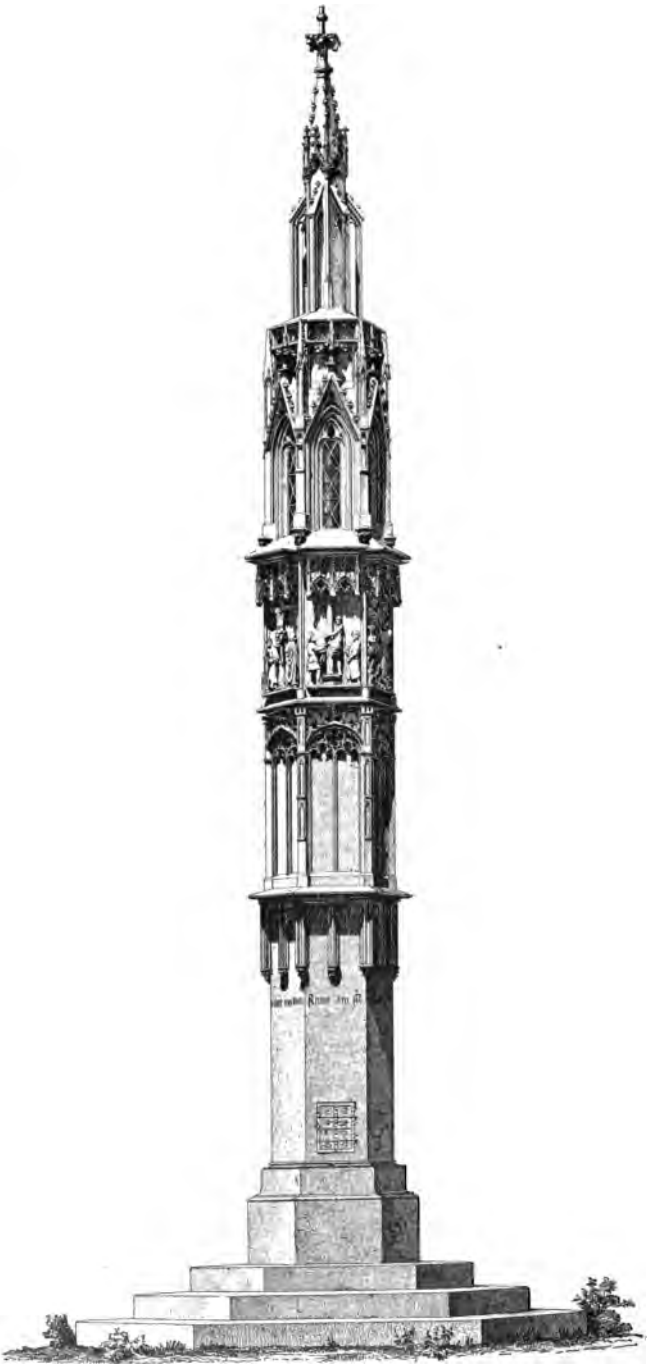
To the west of the Benedictine abbey church of S. Iák, in Hungary—a somewhat small, but magnificent, tri-apsal, two-towered building in the German transitional style of the early thirteenth century—is a so-called 'round-chapel' of the same character and period. On plan, a spherical quatrefoil, and in two storeys, its entrance doorway is in the centre of the southern apse, where the cloister formerly stood, with a small window on each side of it. The western apse, which contains a winding staircase in the thickness of the wall, is windowless, while the east and north limbs, or apses, are each lighted by three windows, those in the upper storey being double, and with the lights divided by a shaft. The central pyramid, which is of the same form as the main building, is small and windowless, so that the rays of the light, or lights, before the altar must have been diffused solely through these windows, and not, as commonly, through the central pyramid or lantern.

Another of these graveyard chapels may be instanced in that of Our Lady's church at Wiener Neustadt. Like so many others, it lay

towards the south, and was under the invocation of the Archangel S. Michael. The priest, Johann Putchmann, is recorded to have bestowed 4000 florins wherewith to provide a yearly requiem on the patronal festival, in 1613, and it still continued in use in 1776. As in the case of some of the pillar-lights, its plan is a hexagon with a semicircular apsis attached to the eastern face. Slender buttresses project from each angle; and each face, or side of the hexagon originally terminated upwards, German fashion, in high pointed gables. At the present day these have been truncated, and a plain tiled roof applied to the entire body of the chapel. Like that at S. Iák it belongs to the time of the transition. The interior has a richly groined stone vault, supported on shafts with capitals of overhanging foliage, and is lighted by two deeply recessed round-headed windows. Two others of similar form, but larger, light the apse. The original roof being destroyed, it is now impossible to say whether it terminated in an open lantern or not, or whether all the light displayed externally, proceeded, as at S. Iák, through the altar, and other windows of the chapel proper.

In the earlier period of the Middle Ages, says Herr Von A. Essenwein, in his very interesting and well-illustrated account of certain 'Todtenleuchten' in Austria, published in vol. vii. of the Government *Mitthleilungen zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the 'Karner' were mostly of round form, it may be that the everlasting light burning before the altar may have fulfilled the purpose of the Todtenleuchten. The light must have been hung so high that it would be visible outside, viz., in a lantern on the top of the building, whence also rightly the name of this part of the building. Indeed the lantern attached to the many round churches of Bohemia at that time had no other meaning. The transition between them and the pillar lights constitutes the 'Karner,' on whose point a very high and slender attachment was placed as a lantern—a distinct light-pillar.

With the thirteenth century the 'Karner' became scarcer, the light-pillars more numerous; the lantern also partly disappeared from the 'Karner,' and it is therefore to be supposed that both uses came into vogue about the same time; the polygonal rectangular



KLOSTERNEUBERG.

chapel also came into use instead, when it did not suit to use the lantern.

Speaking of the 'Todtenleuchten' or light-pillars, he says, 'There are none known to us in Germany earlier than the end of the thirteenth century, although such doubtless have existed, though none have been preserved. The oldest in Germany that I can at the moment remember are the remains of the dead-lights inside the cloisters of the cathedral of Magdeburg; that beautiful little early Gothic light-house in the cathedral of Ratisbon; and the one at Puttrich, built outside the school gate, etc. The last is still a formal chapel with high lantern, which also exemplifies very clearly the transition from one kind to the other. The Karner with lanterns may, however, have been erected later, but they are for the most part simple towers of masonry of greater or less height, four-cornered or polygonal, with openings at the top through which the light shone. A pretty little pillar stands also in the churchyard of Schwaz, near Innsbrück. It consists of a round column, upon which is a quadrangular little lighthouse closed by four gables, and supporting a pyramid. The everlasting light, it may be added, burns within it still.'

Finest of all the Todtenleuchten, however—so far, at least, as I have yet seen—is the beautiful one, about thirty feet in height, at Klosterneuburg. Hexagonal in form, and standing with well developed base upon a platform of three steps, which serve to give an air of sufficient stability to the work, nothing more exquisitely proportioned, or admirably decorated than all its seven stages, could be imagined, or more perfectly suited to their purpose. Scenes from the Lord's Passion—among which the scourging and the crucifixion appear clearly in the illustration—are exhibited in the fourth, or central band of sculpture, immediately above the lantern: thus again, as in others of its class, together with the French fanaux and the Irish round towers, enabling it to play the further part of churchyard cross. Tall and slender as a candle, like that famous, though now destroyed monument of the Sainte Chandelle at Arras, it was built, as appears by an inscription on the upper part of the shaft, in the year 1381; and, what is very much to the point, and worth

noting, *after a visitation of pestilence, and in memory, and for the benefit, of those who died therein, and slept below.*

Another six-sided perpetual light also stood formerly, it seems, in front of the south side of the cathedral of S. Stephen, at Vienna, not far from the tower. All that is now known about it, however, is found in a small, and not very accurate view by Merian, which shows it to have been in two stages, the uppermost somewhat plain and simple, and crowned by a rectangular spire.

One of the simplest plan may be seen at Gurk in Carinthia, in the churchyard, near the cathedral. It is four-square, capped with a pyramid pierced by four pointed trefoliated lights at the top of the shaft, and with the usual little opening for trimming, lighting, and regulating the lamp. It is about fifteen feet high.

Another, only about ten feet high, and, consequently, so low that the lamp could be trimmed and placed in its niche by hand, without any assistance of chain or pulley, occurs in the cathedral yard at Brixen. With a four-square base and lantern, connected by a banded, octagonal shaft, it terminates in a stout, short spire, and bears date, 1483. In the year 1488 a beautiful five-sided light-pillar, about thirty feet high, was erected in the churchyard of Freistadt, in Upper Austria. From a circular base, set upon two pentagonal steps, rises a long slender column enriched with deeply cut angle mouldings, each of which has its own proper base and sub-base dying into the splayed surface of the common one below. Above this lower half comes the lantern, with slender angle shafts supporting five interlacing, ogee-shaped, crocketted and finialled canopies, each of which embraces two sides of the lantern. The lower part of each face of it only is perforated for light. Above these openings the solid surfaces are enriched with pointed trefoliated heads, so that each pair presents the appearance of an ogee-headed and crocketted window of two lights with a quatrefoil over, whose mullions and tracery, instead of lying in the same plane as the jambs, project forward, like the enclosing arch above them, towards the centre. The opening for the lamp, as well as the stand to set it on, appear below at the usual level, and the whole is crowned with a rich spire and finial, surmounted by a metal crucifix.

Another interesting and characteristic light-pillar is that at Penzing, near Vienna. Twenty-six feet in height, it stands upon a stepped quadrangular base, in which the aperture for raising the light is worked at somewhat less than the usual level. Above this square base, the shaft, canted into a concave octagon, rises straight to the lantern, which is fashioned by simply cutting away the faces of the shaft, and leaving their extreme angular points as supports to the pyramid, which finishes in a finial. Immediately below the lantern appears a projecting gabled tabernacle, supported on moulded brackets, and bearing upon its face the picture of the crucifixion sculptured in relief. In this case, again, we see the office of the everlasting light combined with that of the churchyard cross; just as it sometimes is with the Karner, and as were formerly also the Karner and the cross.

Leaving the subject of the detached light-pillars, however, of which we have now had ample illustration, let us retrace our steps to Vienna, and the great cathedral church of S. Stephen, where others of somewhat different form, though precisely the same nature, await us. There are said to be no fewer than ten such still remaining there, and they are of the utmost interest in our present enquiry as supplying *the all-important connecting link* between the lanternes des morts, Irish round towers, and Todtenleuchten, and our own, so-called, low side windows. Todtenleuchten still, to all intents and purposes, they appear, notwithstanding, under entirely different forms and conditions. No longer standing free in the churchyard, and at considerable height above the ground, they are now discovered—like our own low side windows—not only to form part and parcel of the church itself, but—as with such vast numbers of them—to be set quite low down in the walls, close upon, and even *within*, the basement. We see these Todtenleuchten, in fact, passing at a single step into veritable low side windows, pure and simple, more especially in those cases where the wall of the church is thoroughly perforated, so that the lamp could be trimmed either from within or from without.

Of these, the majority are said by Von Essenwein to be—again, just like so many of such openings among ourselves—quite unimportant, little quadrangular stone lanterns built into the wall in any kind of

nook or corner, and open sometimes on one side only, sometimes on two. Some of them, he adds, may have stood, in part, quite open, like the detached light-pillars, so that the light could be placed within them, protected partly by rails, and partly by glass; in which case openings were provided for the passage of smoke. In the present (1862) restoration of the cathedral, he says, are stone heaps all round, enclosed in barriers of planks, so that it is not possible to make a sufficiently close examination either of the number, or details, of these light-houses. He gives an interesting illustration of one of the simplest sort on the west side of the cathedral. It is constructed partly above, and partly below, the basement mouldings, just as at S. Cuthbert's, and S. Mary's Castlegate, York.

Among the more highly enriched and important ones, the same writer states, were three, previously unknown to him. The most ornate stood on the south side of the chapel of S. Eligius. From a slender round stem, rose, above a massive corbel, a polygonal lantern, and out of this, another and still loftier one, highly enriched with niches, buttresses, finials, mouldings and other architectural enrichments, the whole of which closely resembled a Sacramentshaus; but all so enveloped in scaffolding as to render the making of a drawing impossible. Such was also the case with a four-square one carried on a column on the north side in the angle of the tower. The third on the east side in the corner *could* be drawn. Above a slender round column with a polygonal base sprang an alternate quadrangular and octagonal corbel, over which stood the square-shaped lantern with round columns in the corners. A steeply sloping roof surmounted the horizontal cornice, and terminated in a lofty finial. It was formerly covered with freely designed ornament, parts of which, however, only now remain. The scroll gives the names of the builders, and the date, 1502.

Many, perhaps most, if not all, indeed, of these little light-houses would seem to have been constructed by private individuals on behalf of their own proper, or, at least, family burying places, since they are frequently found embellished with figures, names, and coats of arms. By way of illustration he gives one from the parish church of Botzen. It rests on a console which springs from the head of an

apparently evil spirit, and bears the busts of a man and woman, whose shield of arms appears between them. The lantern, which is quadrangular, and open on the three external sides, is pierced at the back through the substance of the wall, so that the lamp—as in the case of so many of our own low side windows—could be managed from the interior. Behind the window opening stands a baldachino, supported on pillars, underneath which is an angel who grasps them with his hands.

There are three more of these light-houses at Botzen—one close to that just described. In all four instances, however, there is only one in which the lamp is regulated from the outside ; the light in the other three being transmitted, just as with us, from the inside of the church.

In conclusion, I may mention the side-window of the cemetery chapel at Oppenheim. Access to it is gained by a little stair-case inside the chapel. Thence a torchlight could either be displayed straight forward, or a lamp placed within a lantern, and set upon the platform carried by the detached shaft, whence, protected by the canopy overhead, its rays would be projected, as in some other of these instances, to both right and left as well.

And thus, we have now at length come, step by step, to trace, not only the existence of a certain similarity or parallelism between the probable uses of the low side windows, as developed in England, and those attaching to the lanternes des mortes, Irish round towers, and Todtenleuchten, *but a far closer and more intimate relationship.* That the uses of all must have been more or less alike, it was only, *prima facie*, reasonable to suppose. The same faith, the same rites, ceremonies, and religious observances practised by our own ancestors, were held and observed equally, and by all alike. And not only the same faith as regarded in its deeper and more essential aspects, but the same ideas, views, and manner of regarding spiritual things generally ; ideas that, to many of the present day, perhaps, are apt to seem so full of childish credulity and superstition. That they should rightly or reasonably, seem so, however, is quite another thing. Indiscriminating and uncritical generally, as the beliefs of our forefathers may have been to some extent, and in some directions ; as

regards the existence and operations of spiritual powers—angels and evil spirits, they simply accepted the plain and positive statements of the scriptures of the old and new testaments, and the teaching of the universal church of Christ, without let or hindrance. To such as, nowadays, can with difficulty bring themselves to believe in the existence, or even probable existence of a personal God, the simple, unquestioning acceptance of even that belief, may seem to more than savour of superstition. In the Middle Ages, however—'ages of faith' —as our own 'superior people,' with fine irony, are pleased to call them—the prevailing Herodianism of the present day found no acceptance. To our forefathers the spiritual world was a very sure, and ever present reality. It entered into every relation of life and death. Angels, good and evil, were then no mere artistic or poetical abstractions—as now, to so many among ourselves—purely fanciful conceptions, with allowed, or tolerated places in picture books, or church windows, but not to be taken too seriously. Spirits, good and bad, were with them, on the contrary, omnipresent, 'about their path, and about their bed, and spying out all their ways,' interesting themselves everywhere and unceasingly, in the affairs of men. Then, at any rate, neither death nor the grave itself was esteemed the end of all things. Supernatural ministrations, begun and maintained through life, were continued when life was passed. Untroubled by 'higher critics' they doubted not that God, 'who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire,' made them, moreover, 'all ministering spirits,' 'sent forth to minister to them which should be heirs of salvation.' They believed that after death the souls of the righteous, as in the case of Lazarus, should be 'carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom,' and looked to them for that service.

But as to their bodies, the story of the demoniac, 'who had his dwelling in the tombs, exceeding fierce,' and that of S. Michael 'contending with the devil about the body of Moses'—troubled them. They dreaded such unclean indwelling or rapine of their own, or other bodies after death. For, whether in death or life, the angels of darkness were just as real, as personal, and as present as those of light, and so it was that in the sacrament of baptism, when with the most

solemn and impressive ceremonial, they accepted the yoke of Christ, they no less solemnly and emphatically and, with every expression of abhorrence and contempt, such as turning to the west, stamping with the feet, stretching forth the arms, percussion of the hands, exsufflation and expectorating, renounced 'the devil, his pomps, and his angels.'

Now, as to these angels, 'their works and ways,' we get, at once, at the teaching of the church in the great commentary of Cornelius a Lapide, on this particular case of the Gadarene demoniac. 'Nota Primò,' says he, 'Judaeos sua sepulchra . . . habuisse . . . extra civitatem, in agris et montibus. Erant autem sepulchra eorum alta et lata quasi camerae, ut multi simul in iis sepeliri, quin et vivi illud ingredi et defunctorum suorum corpora inferre possent, ut patet ex sepulchro Christi, Sarae, Abrahae et aliorum. Sic ergo daemoniacus hic habitabat in sepulchris *quia ea a daemonibus agebatur* . . . Secundò *quia daemon spurcissimus et foetidissimus, spurcissima et foetidissima assumit corpora ac similia incolit loca, putà sepulchra plena ossibus et cadaveribus* . . . . . Tertio ut significetur daemones delectari hominum morte, ac inter mortuos, putà damnatos in gehenna, versari. Addunt Quartò Chrysostomus, Euthymius, et Theophylactus eum id fecisse, *ut hominibus persuaderet, hominum mortuorum animas in daemones commutari, qui proindè corporibus sepultis in sepulchro assideant.* Unde daemoniaci, ait Chrysostomus, subinde clamant, Anima Petri, vel Pauli, vel Johannis, ego sum. . . . Ex hoc et similibus locis liquet, multos daemones non esse in inferno, sed versari in hoc aëre, terrâ, aquâ, montibus, cavernis, silvis (ubi olim ipsi se Faunos et Satyros vocabant; Isaias cap. xiii. 21, et cap. xxxiv. 14, *pilosos* vocat) idque usque ad diem judicii, praemittente Deo, ut homines tentent. Ita S. Athanasius in Vita S. Ambrosii, et S. Augustinus, lib. ii. de Civit. 33. Unde pia est Ecclesiae consuetudo, ut fideles in coemeteriis et locis sacris ab Episcopo benedictis sepeliantur ut scilicet per benedictionem hanc *ab illis locis arceantur daemones*, utque ibidem fideles Deum pro ibidem sepultis orent. Hac ratione abiguntur daemonum larvae et spectra, uti mihi narrarunt Attrebati in Belgio, viri graves et experti. *Cum enim vespere obirem coemeterium vidi in eo multas incensas ardere candelas,*

ac perplures ibidem orantes. Causam sciscitatus audivi, solere ibi noctu terras apperere larvas, sed post usum luminum ac precum pro defunctis, illas evanuisse. . . . .

'Addit Gregorius Nyssensis, Daemones, inquit, imitantes legiones angelicas, dicunt se legionem, imo imitantes legiones et simulantes Deum ipsum, qui vocatur Dominus Sabaoth, id est exercitiuum et legionum angelicarum. Lucifer enim est simia Dei. Disce hic quanta est multitudo et malignitas daemonum.'

So, everywhere, the bodies of the dead were kept with all respect and reverence; everywhere, all possible precaution was taken to preserve them from pollution. That there should have been some variations in the way of doing so, may be taken as a foregone conclusion. Unity is to be sought where it will be found—in purpose, not in the minute and trivial details attending its accomplishment. In this case they were trivial indeed. Here in England, we placed the lights within the church, either using or adapting, one or more of the existing windows, or providing others, whether in connexion with, or separate from, them, as lanterns, whose rays, symbolical of the Divine presence, were held to protect sufficiently the graves of all, whether actually illuminated by them or not. In France, Ireland, and Germany we see only slightly different ways of arriving at the same result. There, in many cases, the lights were wholly separate from the fabric, being placed in detached structures of varying elevation, some high, some low, whence the rays could be distributed equally, and in all directions. Such, as we have seen, were the lanternes des morts, round towers, and Todtenleuchten, generally. But this, though normally, was not always so. One of the earliest and finest of the French fanaux, viz., that at Celfrouin, has but a single, and very small opening—a minute slit in one direction, far less efficient for the distribution of light than any of our low side windows that I have met with anywhere. So, too, some of the round towers, like that at Donoughmore, have not the usual four openings at the top at all, while, though some others have more, others again have but two or three. And so with the 'everlasting lights.' While many, like the beautiful example at Klosterneuberg, stand quite detached in the midst of cemeteries, projecting their

radiance in all directions, some, placed in the angles of churches, do so only in two, while still others, of perhaps more private origin and purpose, give out theirs only in one. So that, even in these several classes, there is nothing like uniformity to be found.

And then again, as regards the 'chapelles des cimetières,' or 'Rund-capellen.' In some of these, as in that of S. Iák, for instance, there would seem never to have been any central lantern, all the light being transmitted through the side, and end windows, just as through our own, with this difference only, viz., that while in our English examples, the lamps if not always, were yet, as it might seem, commonly set in the sills of the particular windows prepared for their reception, in these cases it was probably central only, and sent its light through more than one.

And yet here again, there may, very possibly, have been less difference than might be thought. For in the very common case of two-light windows, where, as at Goldsborough and Crosby Garret, each one has, or had, its own wooden shutter, it does not at all necessarily follow that there were two lamps—one to each light; nor yet, where, as at Norton and Uffington, for example, there were three, is it necessary to suppose that there were as many lamps as lights; so it may quite possibly, not to say probably, have happened that a single lamp, placed centrally, may have shone through both or all of them.

Yet, in other of these grave yard chapels, there were certainly central light-houses, rising well above the roofs, and illuminating the burial-grounds, either independently, or in addition to the light transmitted by the altar lamp through the windows down below. But, whether or no, there would at least, be the altar light which, in cases where no central light-house was provided, might then, very probably, owing to the double part it would have to play, be of much larger size than usual, when it simply burned before the sacrament. Under any circumstances, however, the apsidal, or lateral windows of the chapel would, thereupon, *ipso facto*, become low side windows, just as truly, if not quite so distinctly, as when the lamp was placed on the flat sill of one of them, as with us.

An intermediate example, of much richness and beauty, as well as

interest, is seen in the semi-chapel, semi-lantern of Avioth (Meuse) where the lamp, suspended centrally, before the altar, shone during the night, through the traceried windows, just as, on a larger scale, through those of the ordinary chapelles de cimetières, and on a smaller, through those of the fanaux, or Todtenleuchten. See V. le Duc, *Dict. R.* ii. 148-50.

And then again, as to 'low,' and 'side,' and 'windows,' we have all three in closely similar fashion, in such instances as those at Botzen, Brixen, Oppenheim, and S. Stephen's, Vienna, where the lamps are not only set low down, but placed in window openings, either flush with the walls, as with us, or, more efficiently, in projecting bow-window fashion, so as to ensure a more copious and wide spread diffusion of their light. In other words, 'low side windows,' as they are so commonly, but incorrectly, called, *are found to be, by no means, special and peculiar to ourselves*, of unknown and practically unknowable, use and origin, but—as might naturally be expected—of distinctly kindred purpose with, and analogous to, those other and contemporary grave yard appliances which we meet with so abundantly elsewhere, and with which they have the closest possible affinity. Apertures, contrived, not for the *admission* but *emission*, of light—for the convenience, not, in any sense, of the living, but for the defence and consolation of those who, all around, 'lie in darkness, and the shadow of death.'

How great the concern of Christian people formerly was to provide all manner of defence against the powers of evil, we have already had striking proof in the various precautions taken by them, as well at the hour of death, as afterwards—in the house, in the church—and at the grave itself. These 'lanterns of the dead,' these 'poor souls', or 'everlasting lights,' came after—a final, and fond resource of loving care and sympathy, to ask, not merely the survivors' prayers for the souls' weal of the departed, but, more particularly, to serve as safeguards to the bodies on which they cast their beams—a symbol, not vain, but efficient, of His Presence who is the Light of the world, and whom all who follow 'shall not walk in darkness, but have the Light of Life.'

Whence this striking, and, as I cannot but think, beautiful,

custom was derived, how it maintained its place throughout so many ages, and among so many people, whether with, without, or in spite of, the voice of the church; and how its hold is even yet retained both in east and west, remains still to be enquired into.

Chapter XVI.

OF THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PERPETUAL LIGHTS.

The fundamental purpose and use of fire in connexion with the burial, and other, offices of the dead, would seem to be lost in the dim and shadowy recesses of the past. It found its chief expression, however, apparently, in the act of cremation; but when, and where, this custom arose, seems, as yet, wholly unknown. One thing only, in the midst of so much uncertainty, seems clear, and that is that, whenever, and wherever, it originated, and with whatever precise object, it must have been long subsequent to the simple and primeval process of interment. By far the earliest methods of disposing of the bodies of the dead of which we have any evidence—the Egyptian, —shews that practice to have been not only thoroughly established among that people some three thousand or more years before Christ, but from their practice of embalming to have been ancient, even then, in other words, of the most remote and primitive antiquity.

That such, too, was the case during the earliest historical period in Palestine, we learn from the account of Abraham making choice, B.C. 1860, of the cave of Machpelah, as a burial place for himself and Sarah, from among those of the children of Heth, and which he bought of its owner, Ephron the Hittite, for four hundred shekels of silver.

Of Moses also it is said that when, B.C. 1451, 'he died in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord, he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-Peor, and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.' And such—hallowed as it was, by the Divine sanction—continued to be the Jewish practice to the last, the regular scriptural formula on the deaths of all the kings, running—'He slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers, in the city of David his father.'—I. Kings xxii. 50.

Interment of their dead, would seem also to have been the common, not to say, universal, practice among the ancient inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria from what may be called the earliest historical period of two thousand years and more, before our era, to the destruction of Babylon, B.C. 538.

'Among the most curious remains,' says Rawlinson (*Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 107), found in the lower plain are the *tombs*, which so encircle the old cities as to suggest the idea that both the Babylonians and the Assyrians may have made the sacred land of Chaldaea the general depository of their dead. At Warka, for instance, excepting the triangular space between the three principal ruins, the whole remainder of the platform, the whole space within the walls, and an unknown extent of desert beyond them, are everywhere filled with human bones and sepulchres. In places, coffins piled upon coffins, certainly to the depth of thirty, probably to the depth of sixty feet; and for miles on each side of the ruins the traveller walks upon a soil teeming with the relics of ancient, and now probably extinct, races.

'The tombs which seem to be the most ancient are of three kinds. The first are vaults, about seven feet long, three feet seven inches broad, and five feet high; the pavement, walls, and roof being of sun-dried bricks, laid in mud. The walls slope slightly outwards, as far as the spring of the roof, which is a false arch, formed by layers of bricks, each projecting inwards over the next below, and closed at the top by a single brick. A similar construction is seen in the Scythian tombs; and on a larger scale, in Egyptian architecture. These vaults appear to have been family sepulchres, the number of skeletons contained in them being often, three or four, and, in one case as many as eleven.

'The second form resembles a hugh dish-cover, in one piece of terra-cotta, covering the body, which lies on a platform of sun-dried brick. No more than two skeletons—and, when two, always male and female—are found beneath these covers; children were buried separately under smaller covers. In both these forms of burial the skeleton is laid upon a reed mat, generally upon its left side, with the right arm across the body, its fingers resting on the edge of a copper bowl, which lies on the palm of the left hand. Besides the

copper bowl, the tombs contain a variety of articles, among which are always vessels for the food and drink, which the deceased was supposed to need for his long journey.

'In the third form of burial a single corpse was laid in an earthenware coffin, formed by two bell-jars placed mouth to mouth, and sealed at the joint with bitumen, an opening being left at one end for the escape of the gases resulting from decomposition. Another precaution, which shews the care bestowed on the remains, was an elaborate system of drainage by earthenware pipes, from top to bottom of the mounds in which the coffins were deposited.'

Another form of coffin found in large numbers by Mr. Loftus at Warka is a single piece of earthenware, coated with a blue vitreous glaze, nearly in the shape of our coffins, only largest at the head, where the body was inserted through a hole in the upper surface. Implements of flint and bronze are said to have abounded in these tombs.

The earliest tumuli in Asia Minor, again, such as those at Tantalais, on the northern shore of the gulf of Smyrna; those still remaining on the plain of Troy; the vast number of others, anterior to that of Alyattes, B.C. 561, near Sardis; the ancient Pelasgic sepulchres or 'treasuries,' as the Greeks called them, of Mycenae and Orchomenus, some, perhaps, earlier than, some more or less contemporary with, the earliest of those in Etruria, all take us back to a period some ten or twelve centuries before Christ. These last are especially valuable as having in great part, and more particularly as regards the most important examples, remained undisturbed till quite recent times, when both their structure and contents could be scientifically examined and described.

Of these, one of the most remarkable is that opened in 1836 at Cervetri,—the ancient Pelasgic Agylla, or Etruscan Cerae, a city founded more than thirteen centuries before Christ, and known as the Regulini Galeassi. All the treasures of gold, silver, and bronze being in the earliest style of Etruscan art, led Canina to attribute to them an age of, at least, three thousand years. Many others, of similar age and character, have also been discovered from time to time in the same district, all containing the bodies of the deceased,

clad in armour, and lying at full length, either on stone benches, or in sarcophagi.

In the necropolis of Tarquinii, founded nearly 1200 years B.C., immense numbers of ruined tumuli have been met with—Signor Avvolta, the chief recent explorer there, calculating its extent at over sixteen square miles, and the number of bodies at not less than 2,000,000. On digging into the first of those which served of late to draw attention to these tombs, 'I beheld,' he says, 'a warrior stretched on a couch of rock, and in a few minutes I saw him vanish, as it were, under my eyes, for as the atmosphere entered the sepulchre, the armour, thoroughly oxidised, crumbled away into the most minute particles; so that in a short time scarcely a vestige of what I had seen was left upon the couch.'

The tombs at Vulci and Tuscania, all of the same early type and character, shew with what elaborate care and circumstance—precisely as in life, the bodies of the dead were preserved, and how uniform and persistent this method of interment was. With what literal truth might it not then be said that 'Man goeth to his long home'—those on, and under, the earth being, practically, alike.

And this system of burial, as opposed to cremation, would seem to have extended everywhere; for if the ancient Mexicans, as has been thought, were of the same Turanian stock as the Egyptians, and the modern Chinese and Japanese races, then we have 'at three nearly equidistant points, 120 degrees apart, and under the tropic of Cancer, burial firmly established, as the universal and unbroken practice.

To come, again, to those later, but still early, times of the Persian and Median kingdoms, we see the primitive custom of interment prevailing everywhere throughout, as the structural tomb of Cyrus, at Pasargadae, B.C. 529, the rock cut one of Darius, at Naksh-i Rustum, B.C. 486, four more uninscribed, and therefore unknown, ones at the same place, together with three of the Achaemenian kings at Persepolis, remain to shew. But this, of course, was only natural, especially after the renewed impetus which the Zoroastrian religion received throughout the reign of Darius. For as a symbol of the all pure, all holy Ormuzd, 'Bright effluence of bright essence

uncreate,' fire was esteemed so sacred as to be polluted by contact with the bodies of the dead, the burning of which could only have been regarded as a species of sacrilege. With the Medes and Persians, therefore, cremation must have been impossible.

When, where, and with what specific object, this once so prevalent and wide-spread custom sprang up and diffused itself, remains, then, still a question, and one to which no satisfactory or conclusive answer has, as yet, been returned. We simply arrive, in course of time, and in different localities, at the fact of its existence, but without being able to assign any sufficient reasons for it.

'The Greeks,' says Lucian, 'burn, while the Persians bury, their dead'; but, as regards the former, modern writers are much divided as to the more usual practice. Wachsmuth will have it that, in historical times, the dead were always buried, which is clearly an overstatement, since there are many known instances to the contrary. Homer tells of the burning of the dead; but interment was also used in very ancient times, the dead, according to Cicero, having been buried at Athens in the time of Cecrops. They were commonly buried among the Spartans and the Sicyonians, and the prevalence of the practice is proved by the great number of skeletons found in coffins in modern times, which have evidently not been exposed to the action of fire. Both burning and burial appear to have been always used to a greater or less extent, relatively, at different periods, and just according to fashion, or individual choice.

The Roman methods, though in general resembling the Greek, had yet certain peculiarities of their own. In the earliest times, according to Pliny, they buried their dead, though they also adopted, to some extent, the custom of burning, which is mentioned in the Twelve Tables. Burning, however, did not become common till the later Republican period. Under the empire it was almost universal, but declined with the spread of Christianity, so that in the fourth century it fell into disuse. By the time of the younger Theodosius, indeed, it would seem to have died out altogether, since Macrobius, writing about the year 420, says expressly, that the custom of burning the bodies of the dead was quite abandoned at that time, and that all he knew about it was

derived from history. Under Constantine and his successors, the decline had naturally been both rapid and general, since the church, though no laws were then enacted against the practice, had all along resolutely opposed it. Thenceforward, it became distinctly and exclusively heathen.

All these, however, are mere matters of historical record, more or less accurate statements of fact, but without anything to explain or account for them. We are still as far as ever from knowing for what exact reason a custom which sprang up, no one, apparently, knows where or when, had its beginning. It was one, not only costly and inconvenient in itself; but, in those early times, entirely deprived of the modern pretence of sanitary necessity. We cannot doubt, therefore, that there must have been some very efficient reason both for its introduction and its continuance. What then, was that reason? In the absence of all evidence we are once more, as in the case of the 'low side windows,' driven to seek, and, perchance, to find it, in analogy.

From the very nature of the case, its unnaturalness, and the expense necessarily attending on it, it seems hardly possible to escape the conviction that the constraining motive for cremation, whatever its precise object, must certainly have been a religious one. Now, of all the elements, we know that fire, has at all times, and among all people, ever been regarded as the purest and most sacred. Water, however effectual for cleansing the surface, could do no more; fire penetrated and purified the substance, consuming all corruption. And thus, we read how the world, cleansed, at first, 'by the waters of a flood,' is 'kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment, wherein the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and the earth, with the works that are therein, shall be burned up.' Further, how death, and the bodies of the dead were universally held to convey pollution both to men and things, we learn from sacred and profane history alike. Among the Jews, the laws relating to it—the most ancient of which we have any knowledge—were, as might be expected, of the most exact and rigorous character. Thus, he who touched the dead body of a man, was to be unclean for a week; when a man died in a tent, all that came into it, and all that was in

it, were likewise to be unclean for the same time. And whoever 'touched one that was slain with a sword in the open fields, or a dead body, or a bone of a man, or a grave, was to be unclean seven days.'

For all such cases provision was made by purification by water, yet not by water only. With it were to be mingled the ashes of a red heifer of three years, without spot or blemish, which was to be burnt without the camp, and whose blood the priest was to sprinkle 'with his fingers directly before the tabernacle, seven times.' While the heifer was burning, cedar wood, hyssop and scarlett, were to be thrown upon it, and to their mixed ashes, running water added in a vessel. With this, 'the water of separation,' the purification of every man and thing polluted was to be accomplished: 'a clean person' was to 'take hyssop, and dip it in the water, and sprinkle it upon the tent, and upon all the vessels, and upon the persons that were there, and upon him that touched a bone, or one slain, or one dead, or a grave.' And the 'clean person was to sprinkle upon the unclean on the third day, and on the seventh day: and on the seventh day he was to purify himself, and wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be clean at even.' Nor was this all, for the priest also that led forth the heifer, as well as he that burned it, and the man that gathered the ashes and put them into a clean place, were to wash their clothes, and bathe their flesh with water, and 'afterward come into the camp and be unclean until the even.'

Regulations, similar in character, if less solemn, and rigidly enforced, prevailed among the Greeks and Romans. With the former, the body, after death took place, was washed, and after being anointed with perfumed oil, laid out upon a bed. Before the door was placed a vessel of water, in order that those who had been in the house, might purify themselves by sprinkling it upon their persons. All who had been engaged in funerals, moreover, were held to be polluted, and could not enter the temples of the gods till they had been purified.

And, as with the Greeks, so with the Romans; the body was first washed, and then anointed, but by slaves. After the burial, those present were thrice sprinkled with pure water from a branch of olive or laurel, for the purpose of purification. Then, on their return

home, the friends underwent a second purification, called *suffitio*, which consisted in being sprinkled with water, and stepping over a fire. The families of the dead also underwent purification on special days appointed for that purpose, and styled *Feriae denicales*.

But, as regards the dead, the treatment was altogether different. In their case water, save only in the natural, and, indeed, necessary initial act of washing after death, had neither use nor office. Fire took its place. For the dead it was no longer a mere temporary and external, but permanent and complete purification that was needed. And its aspects and character were wholly sacrificial. Thus, to take in the first place the exceptional cases of those struck by lightning—the thunder-bolts of Jove—both Greeks and Romans deemed their bodies sacred, ordering them to be interred apart, and in the places where they fell. And in all other cases of cremation, in the usual sense of the term, and as commonly observed, sacrifice would seem to have been the essential and dominating idea.

Thus, as in the case of the most ancient sacrifices of animals, the body was burnt whole and entire. It was also decked with flowers, as in the case of ordinary victims, as well as in those of living human victims, at Athens, in the sacrifice of the Thargelia. Next, the pyra, or funeral pile, on which the corpse was to be burnt, was built in the form of an altar with four equal sides, whence it was called *ara sepulcri*, or *funeris ara*. Moreover, the sides of the pile were, according to the Twelve Tables, to be left rough and unpolished, though sometimes covered with leaves. Then, after the corpse, along with the couch on which it was carried, was placed upon the pile, the nearest relative, with averted face, set fire to it. Again, as with animal sacrifices, when the flames began to rise, wine and incense were cast into them; oil and perfumes, together with clothes, food, and other offerings, were likewise burnt, for the gods delighted chiefly in the smoke of the burning victims. Sometimes also, animals were slaughtered at the pile, and in ancient times captives and slaves, since the Manes, or departed souls, were supposed to delight in blood.

Then, when the pile was burnt down, the embers were soaked with wine, and the bones and ashes of the deceased collected by the

nearest relative, who sprinkled them with perfumes, and placed them in an urn of marble, alabaster, or other material, which was finally deposited in a sepulchre constructed without the city.

The Romans, as well as the Greeks, were also accustomed to visit the tombs of their relatives at stated periods, in order to offer them sacrifices and gifts, called *Inferiae* and *Parentalia*; for they appear to have regarded their Manes as gods, whence the practice of presenting such oblations as victims, wine, milk, garlands of flowers, and other things. On these occasions the tombs, it seems, were sometimes illuminated with lamps.

At the end of February, also, was a festival called Feralia, in which the Romans carried food to their sepulchres for the use of the dead. Feasts also, as upon a sacrifice, were given in their honour, sometimes at the time of the funeral, sometimes on the Novendiales, or ninth day after it, and sometimes later.

Though naturally accompanied with much greater pomp and display, the apotheosis, or deification of the dead emperors, was yet, as would seem, of essentially the same character as the ordinary rite of cremation. The pile, erected in the Campus Martius, was in four storeys, diminishing in size upwards, like a pharus. In the second was placed a couch with a waxen effigy of the deceased upon it, and accompanied by all manner of aromatic gums and incense. The whole structure, which was of massive timber filled with faggots, was then, after divers ceremonies, fired, when from the topmost height an eagle was let loose to fly skywards as the flames ascended, and bear with it, as the Romans believed, the dead emperor's soul, who thenceforward was worshipped with the other gods.

In all which how forcibly is the story of Manoah, as told in the book of Judges, brought back to us. How the 'man,' the 'angel of God,' when asked by him, 'What is thy name?' answered, 'Why askest thou after my name, seeing it is wonderful?' and then, when told that if he would 'offer a burnt offering, he must offer it to the Lord,' after he had taken a kid with a meat offering and offered it upon a rock, 'the angel did wondrously, and Manoah and his wife looked on. For it came to pass when the flame went up toward heaven from off the altar, that the angel of the Lord ascended in the

flame of the altar . . . . and Manoah said unto his wife, We shall surely die, because we have seen God.'

All that was carnal and corrupt in those cremated, therefore, being consumed, as in a sacrifice acceptable to the gods—to whose company their souls had ascended—nothing thereafter remained for spirits of evil to occupy or pollute.

Coming to later and more barbarous times, cremation whencesoever derived, would seem to have been beyond all doubt, originally, the universal practice of all Teutonic races, as well as of most others in the north of Europe—Goth, Scandinavian, Herulian, Thuringian, Frank and Saxon, Alamann and Baiowarian—for reasons deep seated in the national heathendom—all acting alike, at first, in this respect. As to the causes which led to the abandonment of so universal and national a custom there were two, apparently, one physical, the other moral. The first consisted in the difficulty of obtaining means to practise the rite, which by gradually leading to its abandonment led, as certainly, to its desecration. In districts where wood was scarce, the practice soon became too costly for the bulk of the population to indulge in. and there it ceased sooner than Paganism. Then having ceased as a religious rite, it soon fell into dishonour. 'No sooner,' says Kemble, 'did the people cease to burn, not only its heroes, but its own children in Scandinavia, than it began to burn its malefactors. The want of wood alone served to wean the heathen from his ancient customs. He reserved cremation for trolls, witches, and such, as, having been buried, rose again and *walked*, to the horror and amazement of men.'

The next is the moral cause. In Asia, there are those who will not *defile* fire with the task of burning matter—corpses; these throw their dead anywhere, except into the flames. But in Europe, heathendom, as long as it was free to do so, committed its dead to a sanctifying and purifying fire. Hence the hostility of Christendom to cremation. Wherever Christianity set foot, cremation ceased. Nay, in A.D. 785, we find Charlemagne making it a capital offence —'*Se quis corpus defuncti hominis secundum ritum paganorum flamma consumi fecerit et ossa ejus ad cinerum redigerit, capite punietur.*' Christians naturally preferred burial, because Christ was buried. The heathen, just as naturally, adhered to cremation, since he

believed his gods, not only to have instituted the rite of burning, but themselves also to have mounted the funeral pile. Fire was the purifier, the medium of communication with the gods.

A striking proof of the hold which the practice maintained while the Christianizing process was still in progress, came to light some sixty years since, when on the removal of a barrow at Elzen near Hildesheim, an interment was disclosed in which fire appeared to have been introduced almost by stealth, as though the bodies had not been exposed to its full power. Upon its base were found six holes or kists of which five were nearly filled with wood ashes, and over each lay a skeleton at full length upon its back. The sixth hole was not occupied, but close to it was a small urn. It was supposed that this was a transitional interment of Christians who had not yet entirely relinquished their pagandom ; or of pagans, who, though dread of the law prevented them from raising a pile to consume the bodies entirely, had been content to burn at least a part of the flesh by means of fire lighted underneath, and fed with heath and ferns whose flame could not be seen from far. In a similar way the abbé Cochet describes finding several skeletons at Parfondeval, lying upon a stratum of ashes and charcoal. 'L'orientation la plus générale,' says he (*La Normandie Souterraine*, p. 308), 'était le sud-est pour les pieds, le nord-ouest pour les têtes. Parmi les tombes quelques-unes n'avaient pas de matières noires, d'autres en présentaient beaucoup autour du corps, *deux ou trois squelettes paraissaient avoir été déposés dans une couche de braise et même sur des cendres.*'

In a vast number of burials where interment is the rule, there are said to be signs of cremation, as at Elzen and Parfondeval : the body was not reduced to ashes, but only *singed.* It might have been dangerous to make a fire large enough to consume it ; but by a little management, the advantages of Christian and heathen burial might be combined. This may probably best account for the fact of a few remains of charcoal only, often exceedingly minute, which are said to have been so often found in tumuli where skeletons are deposited entire. A little fire was thought enough to symbolize the ancient rite, and if any doubt remained in the mind of the new convert, or the ancient superstitions still lingered, as to far later times we know

they did, he took care to be on the safe side, and make all sure in both quarters. '*Aqua benedicta, et prunae cum thure,*' both of which, Durandus tells us were, even in his day, placed, in some quarters in the grave, ensured the safety of the deceased completely.

Writing of the graves of the Merovingian period in France and their several contents, the abbé Cochet (*La Normandie Souterraine*, pp. 25, 26), says:—'Souvent, j'en conviens, il est mal aisé de discerner la religion de ces barbares au milieu des formes si simples et si rudes de leur mobilier; mais on voit déjà qu'ils ne croient plus à Caron, à Latone, aux Mânes, ni aux besoins matériels des morts dans l'autre vie. On ne voit plus ce luxe de cuillières, de vases aux libations, de cruches, d'assiettes, de plateaux, de soucoupes, de verres et de bouteilles. *Le vase aux pieds n'est là que contre ces possessions, ces obsessions démoniaques dont la croyance fut commune à tous les peuples de l'antiquité païens ou chrétiens, et dont la pensée a traversé le moyen-âge.* C'est une pratique païenne, j'en conviens, mais que le Christianisme a sanctifiée, car nul ni vaudra accuser de paganisme les plus saints prêtres et les plus savants évêques du moyen-âge dont le cercueil renferme toujours un vase au charbon ou à l'eau bénite, par plus que l'on ne voudra soupçonner d'idolâtrie ou de superstition la pieuse Blanche de Castille qui fit mettre à Poissy, quatre vases en terre dans les tombeaux de les jeunes fils, Jean et Philippe, frères de saint Louis, ni la bienheureuse Marie de l'Incarnation dans le cercueil de laquelle les Carmélites de Pontoise placèrent encore des vases in 1618.'

Again, when describing in the *Bulletin Monumental* (vol. xxv., p. 289) the many sepulchral vessels unearthed by himself personally, he writes:—'Au premier coup d'œil, j'ai reconnu environ vingt espèces ou variétes parfaitement appréciables; mais dans toutes ces catégories, si incomplètement représentées, j'ai surtout distingué quatre espéces qui je puis appeler entières, et qui je vais essayer de definir. La premiére catégorie . . . se compose de vases en terre rougeâtre d'une couleur et d'une argile analogues à celles de nos briques modernes. Ce vase, épais de 3 millimètres, est haut de 8 centimètres et large de 10 à la panse . . . sa forme, assez gracieuse, est celle d'une petite urne romaine. . . . Evidemment

la pièce avait été prédestinée au rôle de cassolette . . . nous croyons qu'il n'est pas postérieur au xiii.e siècle.' (Fig. p. 290.)

'La deuxième catégorie se compose de vases noirs dont la terre cendrée a reçu une légère couverte ardoisée au moyen de la mine plomb. Ces vases sont tournés avec goût et leur pâte est fine et légère ; tous sont munis d'anses et portent des cous qui représentent le tiers de la pièce. Ce col est recouvert de raies horizontales. En général, on peut dire que la forme de ces vases est celle de la quatrième catégorie, avec une capacité moindre et un faire de meilleur goût.

'La trace du feu n'est pas apparente sur les fragments, mais ils étaient mêlés à des charbons de bois. On ne saurait d'ailleurs douter de leur destination comme cassolettes, car la panse présente cette particularité que, primitivement, elle fut munie de trous pratiqués dans la terre molle avec un poinçon circulaire ; puis, au moment du service, ces trous ayant été reconnus insuffisants pour l'evaporation, ils furent violemment agrandis avec un outil de fer. . . . Leur forme, leur forage, et le milieu dans lequel ils se trouvent les font descendre jusqu'au xiii.e et au xiv.e siècle.'

'La troisième catégorie, c'est un genre de vases dont la terre est blanche, fine et bien choisie, le façonnage léger et la forme gracieuse. Ils possèdent une anse et un cou court, mais évasé ; l'interieur présente un vernis jaunâtre jaspé de vert, mais seulement au fond et sur les bords. . . . Plusieurs échantillons m'ayant présenté un rang de trous forés à la panse après la cuisson, j'ai tout lieu de croire que tous en ont possédé. Tous les vases de cette catégorie paraissent neufs et semblent n'avoir jamais servi à aucun usage domestique. C'est à peine si l'on surprendrait, sur leurs parois interieures, quelques traces du feu qui brûla le jour de funérailles.' (Figs. p. 293.)

'La quatrième espèce des vases était véritablement dominante, et dans des proportions telles qu'elle nous a donné trois cents morceaux sur quatre cents. Ces vases sont de ceux que l'on appelle en Normandie *pintes*, *chopines*, ou *pichets*. La couleur de la terre et du vernis varie beaucoup. Toutefois si l'on en trouve en terre rougeâtre et en terre jaune, on peut affirmer que la terre blanche domine. Quelques-uns sont lourds et épais, mais le plus grand nombre sont fins et légers ; ces derniers sont tournés avec assez d'élégance. Ces vases, qui ont tous une anse, n'ont ni bec ni goulot.

'La plus grande partie de ces vases ont contenu du charbon, quelques-uns en étaient encore remplis. Tous présentent à l'intérieur des marques de feu ou de fumée. Presque tous sont percés à la panse d'un rang de trous pratiqués après la cuisson. Il est évident que la raison pour laquelle ils sont ici vient du rôle qu'ils ont joué dans les funérailles des chrétiens.

'Toutefois leur terre, leur forme et leur vernis nous font penser qu'ils peuvent appartenir au xiv.e et au xv.e siècle ; mais nous doutons qu'ils soient postérieurs à cette époque. Ce qui nous fait pencher pour le xiv.e siècle, c'est que, sur une miniature et cette époque reproduisant l'office des morts, on voit, rangés autour du corps, des vases allumés entièrement semblables aux nôtres.' (Figs. p. 294.)

'Maintenant on nous demandera quel nombre de vases on plaçait dans chaque sépulture chrétienne, et quelle place ils y occupaient. Nous dirons volontiers le peu que nous savons.

'Nous avons établi qu'à l'époque mérovingienne et peut-être aussi carlovingienne, le vase, ordinairement seul, était généralement placé aux pieds. Cette règle n'admettait que peu d'exceptions. Nous sommes moins rensignée sur l'époque capétienne. . . .

'Les sépultures de Ste. Geneviève de Paris, données par M. Lenoir, présentent dans chaque cercueil quatre vases placés à chacun des angles. Les cercueils des deux jeunes frères de saint Louis, découverts à Poissy, en 1714, ont fourni la même observation, mais pour le caveau seulement. A Troyes le comte de Champagne, Henri Ier, mort en 1180, n'avait qu'un seul vase placé au côté droit : l'évêque Hervée inhumé en 1223, n'avait non plus qu'un fiole de verre.

'Le baron Taylor ne cite que deux vases trouvés dans le cercueil d'un abbé de Jumièges du xii.e siècle. M. Féret n'en a également rencontré que deux, en 1827, dans la tombe de Renaut de Calletot, mort vers 1310. L'un était au pieds et l'autre à la tête. On n'en cite qu'un seul dans la fosse d'un curé de St. Aubin-sur-Mer (Seine Inférieure), enterré en 1307 et visité en 1850. M. Viollet le Duc parle de trois seulement, rencontrés dans le sarcophage d'un évêque d'Amiens de 1325 : l'un était au pieds et les deux autres près des épaules.

'En 1853, ce savant architecte, travaillant à la restauration de la

cathédrale d'Amiens, dont il est chargé par le gouvernement, découvrit, dans la chapelle de la Sainte Vierge, le cercueil de pierre de Simon de Gourcans, évêque de ce diocèse, mort in 1325.

'Ce sarcophage renfermait trois vases, dont deux aux épaules et un aux pieds. Tous trois étaient percés de trous et contenaient du charbon dans leur intérieur ; ils étaient blancs, légers et fins. Leur panse est ornée de ces lignes rouges et perpendiculaires dont nous avons beaucoup parlé et qui nous semblent faites avec de la sanguine. Ce tombeau toutefois avait déjà été visité, car on n'y a trouvé que le bâton de bois de la crosse. Le vase était entier ; mais son couvercle, qui était plat, a été trouvé brise en plusieurs morceaux.

'Le 18 décembre, 1854, la *Société archéologique de l'Orléanais* a fait, dans l'église de Notre-Dame-de-Cléry, l'examen des sépultures des Dunois-Longueville. Voici quelques détails concernant les vases qu'elle y a rencontrés.

'Le caveau du célèbre Jean, bâtard d'Orleans, comte de Dunois, décédé le 24 novembre, 1468, avait été violé à la Révolution ou auparavant. On a trouvé, parmi la terre qu'il contenait, sept vases funéraires qui n'étaient pas en place.

'Le cercueil de François Ier, de Longueville, né en 1447 et mort en 1491, n'avait pas été violé dans son caveau. On a trouvé, des deux côtés, dans le sens de la longueur de cercueil, douze petits pots de terre rouge commune, contenant du charbon qui a été allumé ; quelques-uns de ces vases ont été brisés. Ils ne sont pas vernis à l'intérieur, et ils portent des anses. Les plus forts ont 12c de haut, 10c de diamètre à l'ouverture, 40c de tour au plus renflé de ventre, et 7c à la base.

'Dans le caveau d'Agnès de Savoie, duchesse de Dunois, morte le 16 mars 1508, le cercueil en plomb n'avait pas été violé. Près de lui étaient quatre pots à anse, de poterie rouge commune, sans vernis, d'une dimension double de celle des pots qui précèdent. Ils renfermaient du charbon ; deux étaient à droite, et deux à gauche.'—*Bull. Mon.* xxii. pp. 428-429.

Not further to prolong the interminable list of such like discoveries it may suffice to mention a further one made some years ago at Morienval (Oise) where were found—'autour d'un cercueil du xvi.e ou xvii.e siècle plusieurs vases, placés sur le couvercle, *et trente-huit autres rangés autour du sarcophage.*

'Sous la législation si profondément catholique de cette partie du moyen âge qui va depuis le xi.e jusqu'au xvii.e siècle,' continues the abbè Cochet, 'la vase funèbre durera encore, et plus vivace que les siècles et que les ères qu'il traverse, il survivra au moyen âge, et il faudra toutes les lumières du siècle de Louis XIV. pour déraciner des mœurs cette vieille plante qui naquit au berceau de l'humanité.

'. . . . Mais je m'arrête, parce que je crois avoir suffisament démontré ma thèse et avoir élevé à l'état de loi ce qui, par le défaut d'ensemble, n'apparaissait guère que comme un accident ou un cas isolé. J'ai prouvé, je l'espère, que, sous l'empire de la pensée catholique, l'usage des vases funéraires avait persévéré parmi les chrétiens du moyen âge. J'ai fait plus, j'ai rattaché cette coutume à sa source primitive, montrant qu'elle découlait de la haute antiquité et qu'elle avait pris naissance au berceau du monde.'

'Nous ne terminerons pas ce travail tout archéologique sans ajouter un fait moderne et contemporain qui, malgré son actualité, a tout l'intérêt d'une antiquité bien conservée. Le lecteur croirait-t-il, si nous ne le lui attestions, que la coutume de placer des vases dans la fosse des morts subsiste encore au sein de notre France? C'est pourtant ce que nous sommes en mesure de prouver, pièces en main.

'Dans mon mémoire, *Sur la coutume de placer des vases dans la sépulture de l'homme*, je disais au début: "Cet usage, qui remonte au berceau de l'humanité, a traversé les siècles avec la grande famille humaine et il y a 200 ans à peine qu'il a quitté le sol de la France. Peut-être même y existe-t-il encore caché en quelque endroit obscur, et nous ne serions nullement surpris d'apprendre qu'au fond d'une des provinces, au sein d'une paroisse reculée, vit et prospère la coutume des vases funèbres, aussi chère aux premiers chrétiens qu'à ceux du moyen-âge."

'Cela était écrit à la fin de 1856.

'Et le 7 mars, 1857, je recevais de M. I. Chevrier, de Châlons-sur-Saône, la lettre suivante:—"Je suis heureux, Monsieur, de vous fournir l'occasion de justifier un pressentiment que vous exprimez dans le *Bulletin Monumental* de 1856, relatif à l'usage des vases funéraires. En effet, notre Bresse et notre Morvan continuent encore aujourd'hui l'usage de placer dans le cercueil ou dans la fosse un vase ayant servi

au défunt." Puis, dans son mémoire sur les fouilles à St. Jean-des-Vignes, près Châlon, en 1855 et en 1856, le même archéologue s'exprime ainsi :—"Dans le Morvan, et notamment à Anost, les paysans continuent encore de nos jours l'usage des vases funéraires, ils jettent sur le cercueil, au fond de la fosse, une écuelle ou un vase de terre ayant servi ordinairement au défunt ; et dans certaines parties de la Bresse, on jette dans la fosse le vase à eau bénite qui fut placé aux pieds du défunt avant la cérémonie de l'inhumation."—*Bull. Mon.* xxv. pp. 301-304.

Chapter XVII.

EXAMPLES STILL REMAINING IN THE COUNTY OF DURHAM.

Having now, therefore, as a necessary preliminary, treated of the subject of 'low side windows' generally, and in a fashion as thoroughly exhaustive as the materials at my command would allow ; it remains, in conclusion, to present such illustrations of it as remain within a given and well-defined portion of that district with the antiquities of which it is the object of this society to deal—the county palatine of Durham.

Though not comprising any very special, or peculiarly striking, or exceptional examples, perhaps, they may still serve, probably, like most others within a like area, to bear sufficiently clear witness, as well positive as negative, to the real, though now forgotten uses to which this mysterious class of openings was applied. If somewhat deficient, possibly, in that kind of direct and pointed evidence supplied in certain individual instances elsewhere, they will yet, I think, be found, in general character, fully representative of those usually met with in other parts of the country : fair average specimens, that is, of their class, taken as a whole. All of them, I think, will be found to point more or less directly to that continued and general use of lights in cemeteries, which the church from the very beginning of the fourth century, though it did not encourage, at least permitted to be burnt, for the satisfaction of the living, if not for the benefit of the dead, at night. For the famous thirty-fourth canon of the council of Eliberis, A.D. 305, which refers directly to this practice, and was enacted to

regulate, since it could not suppress it, says expressly—'Cereos *per diem* placuit in coemeterio non incendi. Inquietandi enim sanctorum spiritus non sunt. Qui haec non observaverint, arceantur ab ecclesiae communione.' Where we see that the prohibition, which involved the penalty of excommunication, had reference to the burning of such candles in the daytime only; thus plainly, and by implication, allowing the custom to be followed after dark. And this concession in various ways, as we have already seen, was taken the fullest advantage of throughout the whole of Europe till the close of the Middle Ages; nay in some parts indeed, continues to be so still. Moreover the reason assigned by the canon itself for its promulgation is, as will be seen, plain enough, viz.:—'Because the spirits of the saints, or of the dead in Christ, are not to be disturbed'—that is, troubled by the thought that their bodies, which had been made 'temples of the Holy Ghost,' were, after their departure, being outraged and profaned by devils. But even then, though as being in the 'hands of God,' where no such 'torment' could 'touch them,' it did, for all that, touch the living most acutely, and hence their care and anxiety that the 'earthly tabernacles' of those dear to them, which had been 'put off,' and were being 'dissolved,' should, by every means in their power, be protected from such possible defilement. And hence the universal burning of these lights. So deeply rooted, tenacious, and ineradicable were these primeval and apparently universal beliefs—or, as so many nowadays would prefer to call them, *superstitions*—in the hearts of all men everywhere.

The evidence of the practice is, unfortunately, in this particular locality, very largely discounted by the great number of old churches which have been either utterly destroyed, or so mutilated and disfigured, that their testimony, whatever it may once have been, or indeed may even now be, is not obtainable. And this is, perhaps, all the more to be regretted because—in comparison with those in so many other parts of England—the ancient Durham churches are in themselves, for the most part, so poor, and few, and far between. Such as it is, however, and it is quite enough for my present purpose, a full account of them is here presented, arranged, for comparison, in three separate groups, viz., firstly, those ancient churches in which, for divers reasons,

it is now impossible to determine whether such features ever existed or not; secondly, those in which, in varying conditions, they exist still, and are hereinafter, illustrated and described; and thirdly, those in which they neither do, nor, apparently, ever did exist. Taking them in this order then, we have :—

I.

CHURCHES IN WHICH THE EVIDENCES ARE NOW EITHER OBSCURED OR DESTROYED.

Aycliffe.
Billingham.
Bishopton.
Coniscliffe.
Denton.
Dinsdale.
S. Mary-le-Bow, Durham.
S. Nicholas, Durham
Eggleston.
Esh.
Greatham.
Hartlepool.
Houghton-le-Spring.
Hunstanworth.
Hurworth.
Longnewton.
Merrington.
Middleton-in-Teesdale.
Monkwearmouth.
Muggleswick.
S. John's Chapel.
Sedgefield.
Sockburn.
South Shields.
Stainton, Great.
Wearmouth, Bishop.
Whorlton.
Wolsingham.

Of these, Aycliffe had, at the time of its late careful restoration, only one side of its south-western lancet of the chancel remaining, and the sill is, consequently, new, so that all witness in that, the usual quarter, is destroyed. Billingham chancel was expensively, but very inartistically rebuilt from its foundations many years ago. Bishopton church has been largely, if not wholly, rebuilt. Coniscliffe church has had the whole of its single north aisle, or chantry, rebuilt *circa* 1846. Denton was utterly destroyed, and rebuilt in a miserably poor and mean fashion, during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Dinsdale church, though still standing, has, at various times, been grievously mutilated and 'restored.' S. Mary-le-Bow and S. Nicholas, in the city of Durham, have both been annihilated and rebuilt from the ground, the one in the seventeenth, the other in the nineteenth century; while the chancel of S. Oswald's, which, when Surtees's *History* was published, contained a large inserted 'low side window' in the usual place, has now lost all traces of it. The

little church of Eggleston has been rebuilt upon another site. Greatham church has, externally, also been rebuilt in the vulgarest sham Gothic manner conceivable, nothing but the singularly fine and interesting arcades being left of it. At Hartlepool, the magnificent chancel, which had hardly, I might say, any, rival in England, fell down, through continuous neglect and decay, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The chancel of Houghton-le-Spring has the lower part of the south side of its western portion covered with plaster, so that its evidence is hidden. Hunstanworth has been destroyed. Hurworth church, as regards its outer walls, has also well nigh wholly perished. Longnewton church is chiefly modern. Merrington was wickedly destroyed, down to the ground, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, all its claims to reverent treatment notwithstanding. The church of Middleton-in-Teesdale, though in excellent condition, and, as regards its chancel especially, of singular interest and dignity, was wantonly, and without any rational cause whatever, utterly swept away, and a brand new one built upon another site near at hand, some thirty years since. Monkwearmouth church, though its chancel still remains intact, and without any sign of a 'low side window,' has had the south wall of its nave pulled down and rebuilt twice over. Since no fewer than six of the Durham churches, however, have, or had, their openings of this kind in the nave, and four of these towards the south, the evidence is, in this case, necessarily inconclusive. Muggleswick has wholly perished. S. John's Chapel, in Weardale, also, was long since destroyed and rebuilt. At Sedgefield, the chancel has been plastered all over with a coat of Roman cement, so that its witness, for the present, lies buried. Sockburn church has long lain in ruins; while the chapel of Sherburn hospital has been destroyed by fire. At South Shields, the church of S. Hild, save, I think, a small fragment at the base of the tower, has perished utterly. Great Stainton church, like that at Middleton, has been pulled down, and rebuilt upon a fresh site. Of Bishop Wearmouth church, only the eastern parts of the chancel are left standing, the western having long since been destroyed, and the space occupied by them thrown into the nave. At Whickham, the church, which till lately retained, either in great part or altogether, its 'low side

window' towards the west end of the south aisle, has now been so enlarged and altered that, outside, hardly a vestige of antiquity is left. Wolsingham church has, save the lower part of the tower, been wholly rebuilt and enlarged; while at Whorlton, the ancient chapel, with its twelfth-century chancel arch and other interesting features, was swept away entirely during the latter part of the forties.

In none of the above-mentioned instances, therefore, is it possible to say, at present, whether the churches do, or ever did, possess such features as 'low side windows' or not.

II.

CHURCHES IN WHICH 'LOW SIDE WINDOWS,' OR THEIR REMAINS, DO, OR TILL LATELY DID, CERTAINLY EXIST.

Auckland, S. Andrew's.
Barnard Castle.
Bishop Middleham.
Cockfield.
Dalton le Dale.
Durham, S. Giles.
„ S. Margaret.
„ S. Oswald.
Easington.
Elwick Hall.
Haughton le Skerne.
Jarrow.
Kelloe ?
Medomsley ?
Norton.
Pittington.
Redmarshall.
Ryton.
Seaham.
Staindrop.
Stanhope.
Trimdon.
Whickham.
Whitburn.
Winston.

III.

CHURCHES IN WHICH 'LOW SIDE WINDOWS' NEITHER DO, NOR, APPARENTLY, EVER DID, EXIST.

Auckland, S. Helen's.
Boldon.
Brancepeth.
Chester-le-Street.
Croxdale.
Darlington.
Durham, S. Mary in the S. Bailey.
Elton.
Ebchester.
Edmundbyers.
Egglescliffe.
Gateshead.
Grindon.
Hamsterley.
Heighington.
Lanchester.
Middleton S. George.
Monk Hesleden.
Stranton.
Witton Gilbert.
Witton le Wear.

It may, perhaps, be well to state that, in the above group of

churches, it is by no means meant to assert that none of the windows were used as 'low side windows,' but only that there is no structural proof that any of them were so used. At Ebchester, for instance, the whole of the windows were thoroughly adapted to such purpose, having flat-stepped sills, on which a lamp could be set with perfect propriety. And the east window of the south aisle, or Hansard chantry, at Heighington, could also have been used equally well in the same way. But there is nothing either to indicate, or even suggest, the fact. All that can be said is that, in the whole of the above-named churches, there are no remains of any specially contrived apertures of the kind, whether detached, or in connexion with, *i.e.*, forming part, either by elongation or subdivision, of any one or more of their windows. If 'lanternes des morts,' or graveyard lights, were really used *within* the buildings, it must have been in some slightly different way, of which we have now no existing evidence: or, if not, then, probably, as in many other cases, after the French and German fashion, in connexion with the destroyed churchyard crosses, 'of which we cannot now speak particularly.' For it would seem far more reasonable to suppose that so widely prevailing a custom should have been observed with some little variety of detail, than that in so many and important instances, where we should naturally expect to find some proof of it, it should not have been observed at all.

Now, the first superficial comparison of these three groups reveals the very striking fact that, with respect to numbers, they are very nearly equal. What the proportion between the two remaining ones would be, could we but accurately divide the doubtful, or uncertain one into its component parts, would be as interesting, as it is, unfortunately, impossible, to know. It may not be unreasonable or extravagant, perhaps, to *imagine* at any rate, that it might prove to be pretty equally divided between such as had, and such as had not, these contrivances: in which case the result would be that one half of the old Durham churches would turn out to have been provided with 'low side windows' of a structural character, while the other half, whatever methods may have been taken to achieve the same end, were unprovided with them. It would hardly seem likely, however, considering the oneness of the belief and practice which

prevailed in connexion with matters pertaining to death and burial both at home and abroad, that a similar, if somewhat different, form of expression should not have obtained in those churches where such structural evidences are wanting, as in those where they are found. For so long as the light was actually exhibited, it would seem to matter little or nothing, whether it were so either in shuttered, or unshuttered windows; or, as in Ireland, France, Germany, and various places here in England, outside in the churchyard. But it would be difficult to suppose, in face of the general witness, that there were *any* graveyards where, unless only private lights were placed for a time upon particular graves, as in Greece and Italy at the present day, there were none at all. Thus it by no means follows, and it would, moreover, probably, be quite as wrong as illogical to conclude that because, even in the case of a practically unmutilated church, there is no *structural* evidence of the existence of such lights, they were not provided for in some, perhaps, only slightly different, while yet analogous, fashion. And this, for more reasons than one. In the first place, it is by no means clearly evident what the exact use of shutters, the evidences of which, if not, as sometimes happens, the actual shutters themselves, meet us in nearly, if not quite, all examples of these structural openings, really was. In the example of the 'Todtenleuchter' at Klosterneuburg, among others, it will be seen that the lamp hangs aloft simply protected by the glass lights of the lantern, though, of course, the wooden door giving access to it and its connected mechanism, is placed within easy reach of the ground. And, unless these shutters were meant to facilitate access to the lanterns set upon the inner sills of these 'low side windows,' from the churchyard, and could then, after they were extinguished, be shut to again, it is not easy to say what their precise purpose could have been. Were this really their object, however, then the difference might seem to resolve itself simply into this, viz., that these structural openings with shutters indicate only such as were meant to be utilized from the outside, while in other cases, the lamp, or lamps, could either be placed upon the sill, or else suspended, like the 'lanternes des morts' and 'Todtenleuchten,' from a chain or cord within.

And another and very cogent reason for supposing that a differ-

ence of fashion in exhibiting the lights prevailed all along, is this: viz., that by far the greater proportion, nay, nearly all, of these structural apertures, and especially in the county of Durham, perhaps, are clearly not original, but later, and often *very much* later, insertions. How then, considering the remote, not to say primeval, antiquity of the practice, is this very singular and striking fact—for such it undoubtedly is—to be acccounted for? Of all the twenty-five existing, or till lately existing, Durham examples, four only, viz., two at Winston, one at Trimdon, and one at Middleham, are of the same date as the walls in which they stand; for the somewhat doubtful one at Kelloe, which differs from its fellows only in having its sill a few inches lower down, is not only almost entirely modern, but even in its small ancient portion no earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century (when the church was largely recast), while the actual walls in which it and the rest were inserted are at least a full century earlier. What, then, were the methods adopted for exhibiting lights both at, and after, the period when the churches, where by far the larger proportion of these 'low side windows' are found, were built? Since it seems impossible to suppose that the practice was abandoned, we are forced to conclude that some other older and still existing fashion then held sway, and that the introduction of 'low side windows'—early as some few examples doubtless are—was yet of very slow and gradual development, and only adopted here and there, in preference to the ordinary way as occasion served. Thus, we may see clearly enough, I think, how the older and probably simpler methods, whatever they may have been, were never wholly, or anything like wholly, displaced, but continued, just as they were before, concurrently with, as well as after, the introduction of these shuttered insertions commonly known and spoken of as 'low side windows.'

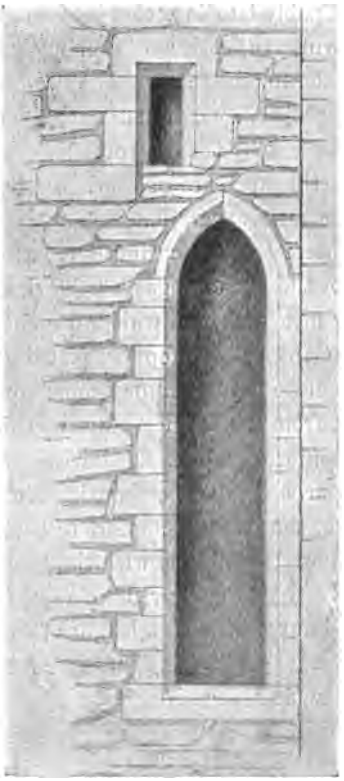
And this consideration will serve to explain in a perfectly satisfactory way the, at first sight, somewhat perplexing problem, how it happens that in so many comparatively large and important churches, as those of Darlington, Chester-le-Street, Gateshead and Lanchester for instance, we should find no signs of them whatever; while such small and obscure structures as those of Seaham, Redmarshall, Dalton-le-Dale, and especially Cockfield, one of the very least in the whole county, where there are two, should all have them.

AUCKLAND ST. ANDREW.

Coming now to the examination of those examples of which either the historical or material evidences remain, we arrive, in the first place, at the church of S. Andrew Auckland, where we shall find two, both possessing features somewhat out of the common. The first, which occurs in the usual position at the south-west corner of the chancel looks, from the outside, mean and poor enough. As the character of the work shews, it is a palpably late insertion introduced amidst the disturbed masonry occupying the place of the original priest's door. Now, since the sole reason for the removal of this door was, as is clear, the introduction of the stalls by cardinal Langley in 1416, when a new place was contrived for it by the destruction of the westernmost sedile, we get the date of this aperture exactly. Seeing that it possesses no architectural character, however, that is not a point of much interest. What is of some interest, is the curiously recessed position it occupies, so suggestive of those thinnings or hollowings of the wall occasionally, though rarely met with, and which, descending to the ground, terminate there in a low step or platform. Their obvious purpose would seem to have been to afford more convenient access to the lamp, or shutter, from the inside. But in this case, since the stalls continue in an unbroken line, flush with the general surface of the wall, no such purpose could be served. Since the interior stonework, however, which, though new, appears to be an exact reproduction of the original, has its sill level with the backs of the stalls, it may probably have been contrived merely to allow more space for the lamp and its accessories. The height of this opening to the glass, from the ground level outside, is about five feet.

The other, which, to adopt a similar nomenclature, may rather be called a 'high end,' than a 'low side,' window, is much more remarkable, for it is not only of the original thirteenth century-construction, but placed in the west face of the tower, and at an elevation of about eighteen feet from the grass. Structurally, it is interesting from the point of internal evidence. Built originally with its sill just clear of the head of the northern of the two lancets which light the ground storey of the tower, it at once became plain that the latter were too short, when—by way of sacrificing the less to the greater—the sill-

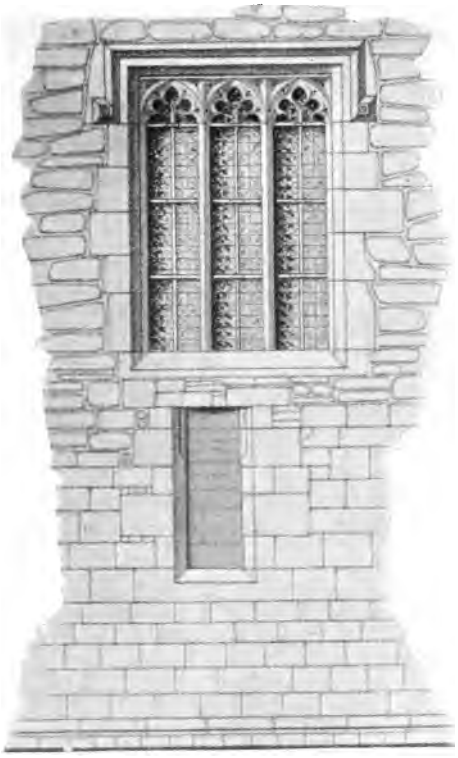
stone was thereupon taken out bodily, the head of the lancet raised to the desired height, and the lower part of the curtailed light roughly filled up against it with small rubble. It is now, unfortunately, blocked throughout the entire thickness of the wall; but it was widely splayed, as its lintel, still distinctly visible on the inside, remains to shew. The west, the region of darkness, was held, it will be remembered, to be especially significant, and under the dominion of the devil. Hence, perhaps, the establishment of this beacon light in that direction, which would throw its beams, not only on the churchyard below, but far up the narrow valley of the Gaunless, on whose banks the deanery, and one, at least, of the old prebendal houses stood.



AUCKLAND S. ANDREW:
N.W. Window of Tower, and High End Window

BARNARD CASTLE.

The church of Barnard Castle furnishes us with an exceptionally interesting instance of a 'low side window,' really 'low,' and really 'side,' though its interest, which is three-fold, lies in other directions. In the first place, its position is an unusual one—west of the south porch, and between it and the south-west angle of the aisle; in the second, it has had an internal recess of access contrived in the interior of the wall, of which there are now, however, only slight remains; and in the third, King Richard III., of bloody and unhappy memory, as lord of the place, was a chief contributor to the works (of which this opening, and the three-light window over it formed part), and on



BARNARD CASTLE.

J F. H. *mens. et delt.*

EASINGTON (see page 212).

which his badge and crowned head may yet be seen. It is not, let me say, as might at first sight, perhaps, be thought, the remains of an earlier window, the head of which had been destroyed to make way for the sill of the larger one above, but, on the contrary, of the same late Perpendicular character, and contemporary with it. Why its upper part should have been mutilated in the elaborately wanton and deliberate way we now see, would be difficult to understand, did we not find the same misdirected energy employed in an equally remorseless way elsewhere, as at Old Seaham, and S. Margaret's, York, for instance. That, occupying such a position as this, as far removed as possible from all altars, and even beyond the range of the chief door, it should have been constructed for the purpose of ringing a hand-bell through at the 'Sanctus' in the mass—as the latest 'scientific' theory would have it—is, of course, even supposing such a practice ever to have existed, altogether absurd. Among other local examples, occupying precisely similar positions, may be mentioned one in the adjoining parish of Staindrop; another, quite recently destroyed, at Whickham, near Gateshead; and a third, an early one of the thirteenth century, at St. Mary's, Castlegate, York, still open, and perfectly preserved.

COCKFIELD.

The parish church of Cockfield, unless, perhaps, those of Elton, Middleton S. George, and S. Mary in the South Bailey, Durham, be excepted, is probably the smallest, as it is certainly among the smallest, in the county of Durham. It possesses also the somewhat rare distinction of having been built all at one time, as well as of remaining—save for the loss of its original roof, now, however, well restored—almost untouched. Yet, small as it is, it had, besides the high, or parish altar, two others, one on each side of the chancel arch, whose piscinas remain to bear witness to them. All is of the simplest kind—a little rude, perhaps, but what is of more importance, solemn, quiet, and impressive. It had, and, indeed, has yet, two 'low side windows,' one, the larger, on the south, the other, opposite, on the north side. Like the church itself, both are small and perfectly simple. They are, however, as almost always happens, insertions of much later, though uncertain, date. During the operation the southern one has

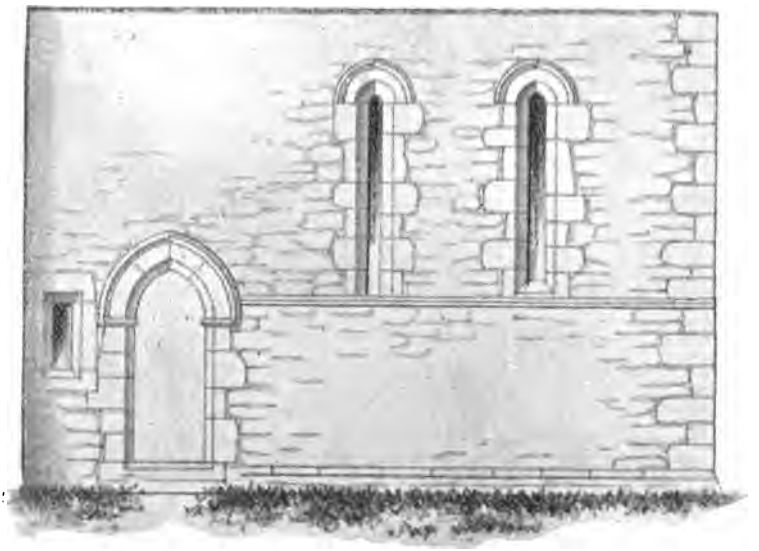
slightly broken in upon the hoodmould of the priest's doorway. It is about two feet three inches high, by rather less than a foot wide, but unfortunately remains blocked, so that its internal arrangements cannot be seen. The other, which is much smaller, being only about a foot and a half long by six inches wide, is turned towards the village; thus making it all the less suitable for the purpose of that hand-bell ringing which someone or other, with more imagination than scholarship, and through sheer ignorant blundering, supposed to be enjoined in the Constitutions of archbishop Peckham. Its internal evidences are now, worse than hidden—lost.

DALTON-LE-DALE.

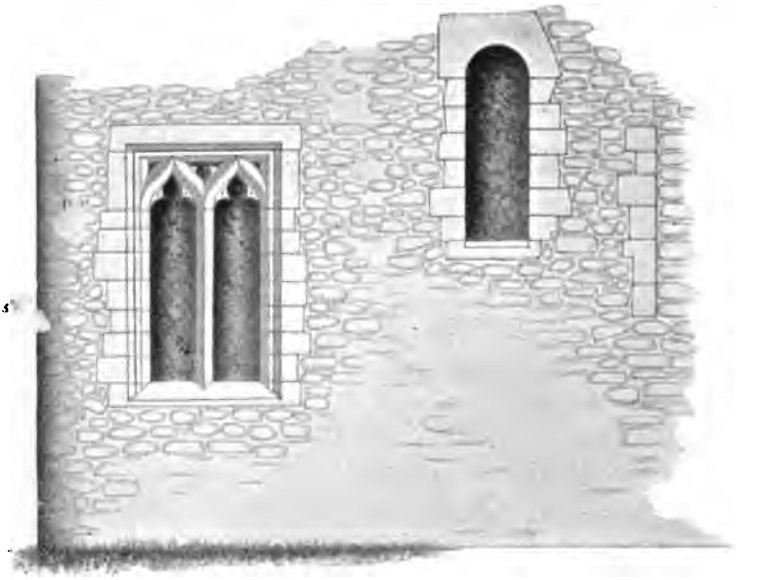
This interesting and somewhat peculiar church must once have enjoyed a charmingly sequestered and beautiful situation. Seated in the deep declivity of a narrow vale beside a babbling stream, all its accessories of shelving wood and water were calculated to enhance its impressions of simple, unaffected dignity. It is aisleless, with unusually lofty walls and long, narrow, chamfered lancets north and south, with a single one to the west and a triplet to the east. There is a fine large south doorway with jamb-shafts, of early character, and another, still earlier, of late Transitional date and richly zig-zagged, to the north. The latter would seem to have been, originally, the chief or south door of an older and smaller church, but removed to its present place, on the erection of what was practically a new one, some forty or fifty years later. Such at least, since no other feature in the same style occurs in the existing fabric, seems to be the likeliest explanation of its presence in the place it now occupies, viz., close to the base of a precipitous bank where it could never have be · of much more use than now, when it is built up.

The chancel arch has entirely vanished; and the whole interior, fitted with mean, deal seats, plastered ceilings, and pink-washed alls, presents the most wretched and forlorn appearance imaginable.

The 'low side window' occupies here, as at S. Giles's, Durham, a very unusual position—the north-east corner, or what, before the destruction of the arch and its supports, would have been the north-east corner, of the nave. Again, in confusion of the preposterous hand-bell theory it is set, as the drawing shows, close down upon the



COCKFIELD.



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

HAUGHTON LE SKERNE (see page 214).

basement near the bank side, where the bell ringing, though it might, perchance, startle some stray sparrow, could do little more. Again, too, as in the preceding examples, it is seen to be an insertion—possibly as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, though hardly earlier, and, probably, somewhat later. But, whatever explora-

J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

DALTON-LE-DALE.

tion might show its proximate date to be, it must clearly have consisted of two lights, as similar, perhaps, in character as in size and form, to those of the still happily remaining, though long buried one at Easington. But the presence of the large blocking stones would seem to show that its filling in, or tracery, of whatever kind, had been

effectually destroyed before they could have been introduced. It craves an opening, which some local society might do worse than undertake.*

DURHAM.

Of the six ancient parish churches of the city of Durham two, viz., those of S. Mary-le-Bow and S. Nicholas, were utterly destroyed and re-built, the one in the seventeenth, the other in the nineteenth, century, and, consequently, all their witness went with them. But of the remaining four, it is interesting to note, that no fewer than three are, or were, provided with 'windows' of this class; two of them, indeed, being so still, though all evidence of the third was carefully expunged, now more than sixty years since. The two remaining instances are seen at S. Giles's and S. Margaret's. The destroyed one at S. Oswald's, of which the sole remaining evidence is to be found in the view of the church given in Surtees's *History*, occupied the usual position at the south-west corner of the chancel, and was a late insertion of large size, plain, square-headed, transomed, of two lights, and quite domestic character. Like it, the other two are also late insertions, plain and square-headed, but—like the churches themselves—much smaller. Unlike it, however, they both occupy very exceptional positions: that at S. Giles's, like the one at Dalton-le-Dale, at the north-east angle of the nave; that at S. Margaret's, at the west end of the south aisle. Of the two, the S. Giles's opening is the larger, but is completely blocked, so that it is impossible to say how it was fitted. But, as the opening in the clear was no more than fourteen inches, it must have been of a single light only, and probably quite plain. The sill is three feet four inches above the ground; and the eastern jamb about a foot and a half from the east buttress of the nave. Whether there was a corresponding opening at the other side cannot now certainly be said, as the church,

* When the late Mr. Billings published his *Architectural Antiquities of the County*, in 1846, the chancel arch, which he describes as 'a circular one without ornament,' was still standing. Like the doorway, it doubtless formed almost the only part of the older building suffered to remain when the present church, which is throughout of distinctly early English character, was undertaken in the early part of the thirteenth century. Little more than restoration of the ancient form of the roof would be needed to make this a very striking and impressive village church indeed.

formerly aisleless, had, some years since, a broad aisle, nearly equal in dimensions to the nave, added on to it towards the south. I feel pretty sure, however, that there was not one.

That at S. Margaret's is still more remarkable, since it is not only at the end of the south aisle, facing west, but actually on the level of the ground—a position at once negativing the 'hand-bell,' 'confession,' and 'leper' theories as completely as can be conceived. Its breadth is almost the same as that at S. Giles's, though its height is much less, for, even were the grass and soil at its base cleared away, it could

S. GILES'S, DURHAM.

J. F. H. *mens. et del.*

S. MARGARET'S, DURHAM.

hardly exceed fourteen inches, thus bringing it to about a square. The earth table, which has apparently been stepped to accommodate it, is of late date, like the tower, and forms no part of the original structure of the church, which reaches to Norman times.

But another, and as yet unreferred to, remains to mention, viz., that which appears in the usual place in the church of S. Mary in the South Bailey. This is, perhaps, notwithstanding the number already mentioned, the only real, genuine 'low side window,' justifying the

name, that I have met with. For, though many are 'low,' and most of them 'side,' this is, perhaps, the only one of all which in strict sense can be called a 'window,' that is, an opening contrived for the admission of external and natural, as opposed to the transmission of internal and artificial, light. It is, moreover, unlike any, so far noticed in this account, strictly contemporary with the ancient fabric of which it forms so striking a feature as to have obtained a special archaeological record.

Yet, alas! that it should prove an absolute and unmitigated fraud. Originally the west window of the nave gable, it was taken out during the general restoration of the church under the late Dr. Raine, now more than fifty years ago, to make room for one of larger size, and then, possibly without any deliberate intention to deceive, inserted in the place so commonly occupied by these openings—the south-west corner of the chancel. How often does partial truth prove the worst form of falsehood!

EASINGTON.

By far the most interesting and perfect of our Durham cemetery lights is that which, though long known to exist, remained completely blocked, up to 1895, by the grave stone of archdeacon Pye, who died in 1808. After a lengthened waiting this obstruction has now been completely cleared away, and the opening, happily intact, again revealed to sight. Occupying the usual position near the south-west angle of the chancel, from which its western jamb is but five inches distant, and set at the average height of four and a half feet above the ground, its special peculiarity lies in this, viz., that small and low set as it is, it is yet not only arch-headed and of two lights, but transomed. And a further and very remarkable point is that the entire inner plane of the aperture, sill, jambs, arch tracery, mullion and transom, are all cut out of a single stone slab about four and a half inches thick. This, however, is set in an unusally deep and well-proportioned casement, which gives the glass plane a recess of not less than nine inches from the surface. Now, there are many arch-headed and transomed 'low side windows' as they are called, no doubt, in divers parts, as at Crossby Garret and Goldsborough, to take two fine local examples; but then, these are all large church windows of

normal size, of which one or both of the openings below the transom—set commonly in a line with the sills of the other windows—have been provided with shutters. Here, however, the case is altogether different, for we find this, the usual type, reproduced, not in the ordinary dimensions, but in miniature, the whole composition, including the arched head, coming bodily beneath the other window sills. Again, though all four compartments are grooved for glass, only the lower western one is rebated for the reception of a shutter, of which the hinge, and fastening marks, remain still. Like all hitherto described, it is an insertion, a fourteenth-century one, in a thirteenth-century wall, through which it has been somewhat roughly broken. Inside, its appearance is simply that of a rude square hole. Some little while since, it was happily filled with excellent stained glass in memory of the late rev. T. H. Chester, the subjects represented being the four chief saints of Northumbria.

But, though the most interesting and important, this is not the only 'low side window,' apparently, in Easington church. For, on the north side, and towards the west end of what, to all appearance, was originally a chantry, but is now a vestry, may be seen the remains of another, plainer, and much smaller. It is set at about the same height from the ground as the other, but has been only of a single, square-headed, chamfered light, about two feet high, and probably about one broad; but its eastern side has been destroyed, and the remaining one, towards the west, blocked up.

ELWICK HALL.

In the usual place, the south-west corner of the chancel, but unusually low down—upon the ground line indeed—may still be seen the fragmentary remains of a small, plain, square-headed, 'low side' opening, in all respects similar to that at Redmarshall (described and illustrated farther on) but only about a quarter of its size, or about one foot square instead of two. It is so mutilated and hidden away however, that, except on very close investigation, its existence would never so much as be suspected. It is of course blocked as usual, and all its interior evidence thereby effectually obscured. But it is interesting as shewing the extraordinary pains taken here, as elsewhere, not merely to do away with, but obliterate, all traces of these apertures.

Such a fanatical amount of zeal as they elicited would seem in many cases, indeed, to have approached, even if it did not touch, something closely akin to madness.

HAUGHTON-LE-SKERNE.

The church of Haughton, much as of late years it has been tampered with and altered, possesses still many interesting features: notably the early Norman work of the south, west, and (blocked) north doorways of the nave; the contemporary remains of the south and east windows of the chancel; and the plain, low, narrow chancel arch. How far the existing building retains any portions of its Saxon predecessor cannot certainly be said, perhaps; but part of the quoining of the south-east angle of its chancel may readily be detected about midway in the length of the present one, southwards. This, together with one of the, apparently, inserted Norman windows, is shown in the drawing. The point of special interest in the present enquiry, however, is the 'low side window' shown in the usual position. Its sill is at the usual height, about four and a half feet above the surface; and its full general dimensions about seven feet by a little over four. Like all the foregoing, it is a palpable insertion, but differs from them in these particulars, that we can, in this instance, point, not only to its proximate date, but to its probable donor. From a comparison of its tracery with that of the sedilia in Darlington church, as also of the tower and aisle windows there, there can be little or no doubt whatever that it must be referred to the days of rector Ingleby, whose arms, as one of the canons, appears upon one of the shields on the sedilia, and who died in 1375. With his period the work agrees perfectly. And a very singular point of resemblance, as regards detail, may be noticed between the cusping of the ogee-heads of the lights and that of the window arcading in the Darlington tower, and especially at so late a period in the style, viz., that it is, as in the transition from Early English to Geometrical, soffit cusping, springing, that is, from the soffit, and not from the chamfer plane. And even in the sedilia and aisle windows where, owing to the size of the openings, it springs in the usual way from the chamfer, it does so in a very delicate and subdued manner, having a bold roll and fillet moulding, defining the main lines in front of it.

Till lately, the window was blocked up, and so far mutilated that it has needed very extensive restoration. This, however, so far as can be judged, has been effected in a minutely exact and conscientious manner. Inside, the sill, as at Easington, Dalton-le-Dale, and Auckland, is quite flat, and suitable for the placing of a light. The interior, being almost entirely new, calls for no particular remarks.

JARROW.

The famous monastical church of Jarrow, whether from a historical or architectural point of view, cannot fail to be regarded as one of the most precious and instructive in the kingdom, especially in Northumbria. For, though ten years later in respect of its foundation than that of Wearmouth; while only the tower and attached gable of the latter remain, the entire church of Jarrow still stands practically perfect. And in no way is its witness more interesting, perhaps, than in connexion with that class of antiquities which we have more immediately under review. For it presents us, as there seems every reason to believe, with the very earliest example of these openings in the kingdom, if not, as by no means improbable, seeing it is of the original construction of 685, in the world. Nor is this all; for on the north side directly opposite is another, a single-light insertion of early fourteenth century date; while below and to the west of the first is a large three-light window of flowing-pointed character, introduced probably *circa* 1350-60, and which may, not improbably, have formed a third.

The first and earliest of these apertures can never, apparently, have been intended to serve the same uses as the other three windows of similar size and character which light the church towards the south, since, as the elevation shows, it is wholly and markedly dissociated from them, its sill being above the level of their heads, just as, conversely, the heads of the later 'low side windows' are placed below the sills of those adjoining to them. Moreover, while the three south windows proper are equally spaced at a distance of about ten and a half feet apart, this is set so close to the westernmost of them that in the interior the jamb, base, and headstones of their splayed faces are in contact. The sole constructive difference between the higher

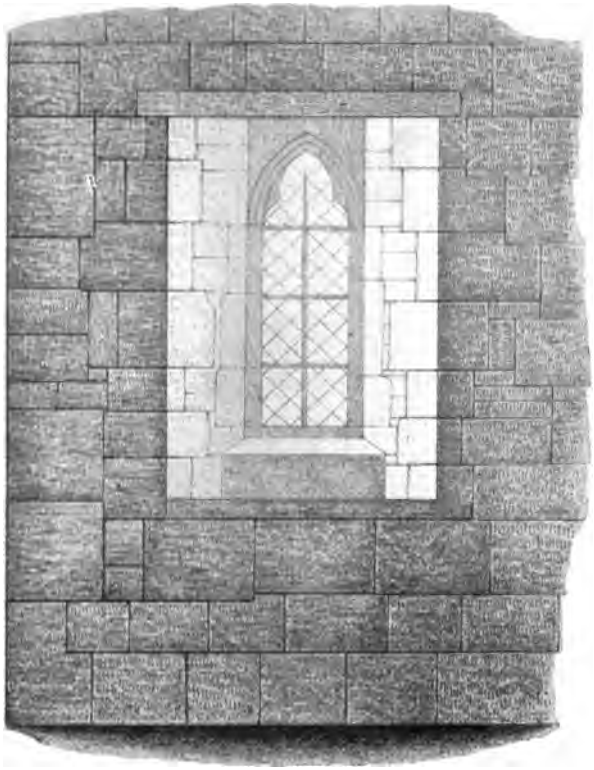
set opening and the rest, and which, like its position, might seem designed to indicate a difference of purpose, consists in its head being composed of voussoirs, while theirs are cut out of single stones. And what is not a little curious also is the circumstance that it occupies, though at a higher level, precisely the same position which in after times became the normal one for this class of apertures, the south-west angle of the choir. Placed at such a height in the walls, which themselves stand on a considerable elevation, the light of a lamp must have shone conspicuous far and wide across the dead swampy level of the Don, and served as a well-defined beacon for the living, as well as a protection for the dead.

We come next to the early fourteenth century insertion opposite, at the north-west angle of what—originally the oratory of the Saxon monastery—forms now the chancel of the parish, or in later medieval times, of the monastic, church. This again, as the masonry itself sufficiently shews, is of quite another date than the wall through which it has been broken. The inner sill, as in all previous instances, is flat; the stonework of the light itself rebated for the reception of a wooden frame; while the holes for the bolt and the hinge fastenings are still perfect. The aperture, in the clear, is about a foot wide by about three and a half feet high, and four above the outside surface of the ground.

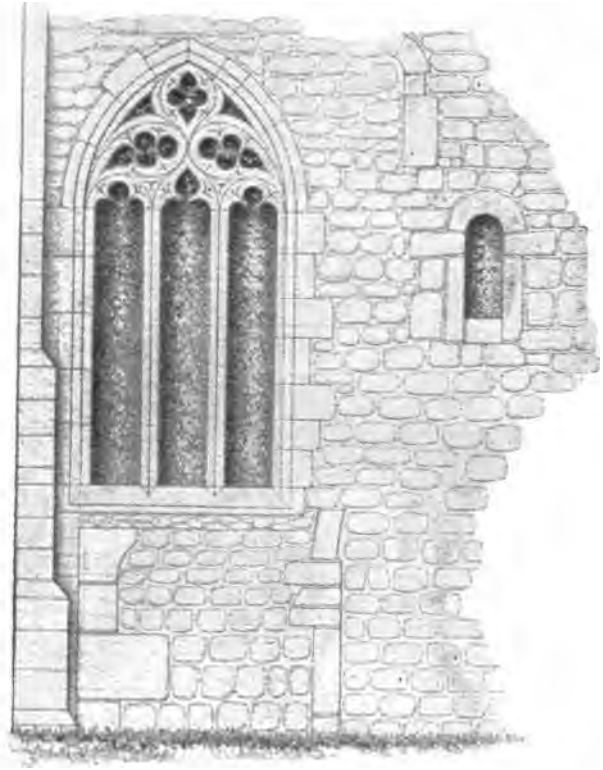
As to the large three-light window towards the south, it would seem far from improbable that, after the destruction, whether accidental or deliberate, of the primitive Saxon one, it would be used for the same purpose, and, probably, in the same way, viz., by the suspension of a lamp from above, exactly as in the case of the 'lanternes des morts' and 'Todtenleuchten.'

KELLOE.

Kelloe church—indissolubly associated with the pious, but unfortunate bishop of that place-name—like that of Dalton-le-Dale, is situate, not in what was once, but is even yet, a pretty little valley, plentifully besprinkled and relieved with trees. With a small squat tower of, apparently, Norman date at the west end, and a Norman south door with cushion-capitaled shafts, it presents, in other respects, a far more profuse display of Decorated work in its buttresses



'Low side window,' north-west of chancel, interior
(for exterior see p. 58).



J. F. H. *mens. et del.*

JARROW.

Fourteenth century inserted window, with remains of original Saxon or 'high side' one above, and westernmost of the three ordinary ones below to the right.

and windows than can, perhaps, anywhere else be met with in the county, a result due, as can hardly be doubted, to its connexion with the bishop, whose parish church it was. While the large east window of the chancel remains nearly perfect, those of the nave, as well as the other chancel windows, have been very largely renewed; among them—that with which we are more particularly concerned—the south-westernmost one of the chancel.

If of somewhat doubtful character, it is yet, on the whole, not improbably, perhaps, an example of that section which in some other cases, as here, possibly, may rightly be styled windows; that is, a window, pure and simple, though applied to a particular, and subsidiary use. Whether its tracery exactly reproduces the original or not—though I think it probably does so—is more than I can say, for not only is the whole of the inner order new work, but the greater part, indeed, I think all, save three stones, perhaps, of the outer one also. The inside sill is flat, as are the adjoining ones, but then they are all modern, and provided with ventilators, so that nothing can be argued from that circumstance. The only one pointing to the original having, perhaps, belonged to the class we are considering is, that its exterior sill is at a lower level than the rest, being only five feet above the surface, while that of the adjoining lancet, east of it, is no less than six feet eight inches. Such as it is, however, and though at the best, perhaps, but of 'doubtful character,' I here mention it for whatever it may be worth.

MEDOMSLEY.

Though containing portions of earlier walling, Medomsley church, like that of Dalton-le-Dale, may yet be said to have been built, practically, all at one time and in one style—that of the early thirteenth century. Indeed, prior to its comparatively recent restoration and enlargement by the addition of a new north aisle and vestry, the two churches bore a striking resemblance to each other; the one only, as planted on a hill top, being of less lofty proportions than the other, planned for the deep seclusion of a vale. Till then it consisted simply of a long nave and chancel, with a little open bell-cot on its western gable. As to the chancel, the eastern two-thirds have very clearly been added on to the western third, since the string course

which runs beneath the fine eastern triplet, and is continued along the south wall, stops abruptly at that point—just at the west side of the central of the three southern lancets. The character of the masonry also differs somewhat—not much. indeed, but visibly. Half under, and half westwards of the western lancet (modern, since the original had been destroyed) we come upon evidences of what may not impossibly have been—a 'low side window.' At first sight, it might be taken for the remains of the priest's door; and such, from the

MEDOMSLEY. J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

fact of the jambs running straight up to a thin course of flagstones, which extends both above and on either side of it, might seem the most probable explanation. At any rate, the lintel, which has been removed, must have been higher than the remaining jambs, whether it were that of a doorway or any other opening. If of a doorway, then considerably so, as the height of the jambs is only three feet seven inches. Previous to the introduction of the present lancet—which exactly reproduces the two ancient ones to the east of it—

there was a long, seventeenth century window of two round-headed lights, the insertion of which, unless it were already gone, must necessarily have caused the destruction of the head of this opening, of whatever kind it may have been. Its western jamb is four feet five inches from the south-west angle of the chancel; and its width—exactly suited to a doorway—two feet nine inches. But then, on the other hand, it has been blocked, partly with large stones, in the same elaborate and purposeful manner that we see both at Dalton-le-Dale and Seaham, where there can be no question as to the character of the openings; and it is further provided at its base, not with a regular thirteenth-century sill, as at Auckland, Cockfield, and elsewhere, generally, built into, and forming part of the jambs, but with what can only be described as a projecting shelf, of its full width *inserted* between the jambs, which is now broken away obliquely towards the ends, but which, in the centre, is still no less than ten inches broad, and eight and a half inches thick. And this, let me say, is no ordinary step, detached from the wall, and simply resting on the ground; but built into the wall, and having its under surface raised three or four inches clear of the ground. Now, on the north side of the chancel of Kirkburton church, Yorkshire, there was shewn to the members of the British Archaeological Association, by the late W. Fairless Barber, in 1874, what was described by him as a 'hagioscope,' having '*a stone seat fixed in the wall*, upon which the leper, or other infected person sat.' That, of course, was all nonsense, but, however vain the theory, the solid fact of the stone remained, as, in a somewhat different form, it does yet at Seaham, where it appears as a low seat formed of rubble, immediately at the foot of the blocked and almost obliterated 'low side window' there.

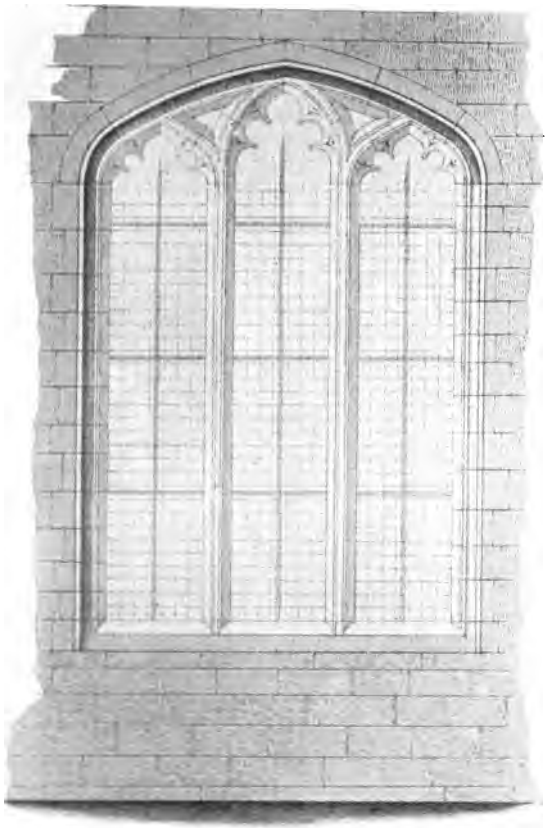
Now, failing the possibility of exploring this quondam aperture, and thus ascertaining the fact with certainty, it might seem a not irrational working theory to suppose that, having, perhaps, in the first instance, been a priest's door—as both its position and remaining dimensions apparently indicate—it was at some later though uncertain time converted to other, or mortuary, purposes; that on their abandonment it was, as usual, elaborately blocked up; and then, on the insertion of the seventeenth, or it may be later, window,

was still further and finally mutilated by the removal of its lintel, and the breaking away of the ends of its shelf or sill.

Such, judging, as I am unfortunately compelled to do, superficially, is the only explanation, however impotent, that I can offer of what is certainly as interesting, as doubtful, a fragment. The drawing, in which every stone is carefully measured, must bear its witness to be interpreted just as each one will.

NORTON.

Next after Jarrow, the church of Norton—viewed in respect of its earlier, as well as of its later features—is certainly one of, if not, perhaps, the most curious and valuable of all within the county of Durham. Originally a cruciform, aisleless, Saxon structure, it was largely recast in the days of Pudsey by an entire rebuilding of its nave, with the important additions of arcades, aisles and clearstoreys; the reconstruction of the west and east arches of the tower; and a lengthening of the choir eastwards, by the erection of another bay, forming the sanctuary. As early as 1082, when the seculars were expelled from the church of Durham by William of S. Calais, it became collegiate; and hence, doubtless, the alterations and improvements it underwent both in Pudsey's time, and still later under Fox. In 1496, we find that famous and exemplary prelate sequestrating the income of the canons for the purpose of rebuilding the choir, and assigning as a reason for his so doing, that 'the canons, prebendaries of the same church had permitted the chancel of the said collegiate church, which had been decently and richly constructed for the praise and worship of God, to fall into ruin and desolation, as well in the roof, main walls, and windows, as in divers other respects.' To this very proper and necessary act of 'visitation' the chancel bears living witness to the present day, especially as regards the roof and windows. Besides the eastern one, hardly, it must be confessed, 'a thing of beauty, and a joy for ever,' there are two others towards the south, all of which owe their existence to this action of the bishop—who thus 'being dead, yet speaketh.' The two latter are both alike in point of design, the sole difference being that the western one is placed at a lower level than the other, its internal sill, which is flat, being no more than three feet above the floor. As the drawing shows, the



NORTON.

J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

REDMARSHALL (see page 223).

work though as simple as possible in respect of the tracery—if, indeed, the mere arched heads of the lights can rightly be termed such—is yet well and deeply moulded, both sides being alike, and with the glass, as usual at the time, set exactly in the centre. Beyond its flat sill and lower level, however, there are no distinct evidences of its having ever served as a mortuary window ; but it might seem, very probably, to have belonged to a class, of which we can hardly doubt there would be many—as well after, as before the introduction of separate and distinct apertures for the exhibition of such lights exclusively—which were naturally utilized for the same purpose, and for which, so far as we can see, they were equally well adapted.

PITTINGTON.

In the wall of the north aisle of Pittington church, and opposite the easternmost bay of the original Norman arcade, are to be seen two small, narrow, square-headed openings, now blocked, and about seven feet apart. The wall itself was rebuilt many years ago, when these two features are said to have been reinserted in their former positions. They have been imagined (though fondly) to have formed two of the original lights of the added late Norman aisle. But this, whatever their origin, they certainly did not. That, at any rate, goes without saying. To what precisely later period they should be referred, however, is not so readily determined. For though possibly of the thirteenth, they are more probably of the fourteenth, or perhaps fifteenth, centuries. As the annexed carefully measured elevation shews, they are simply and very slightly chamfered, not so broadly as we should expect to find in the advanced fourteenth, or fifteenth, century period, but more probably at some date between about 1280 and 1330. Every vestige of their inner parts is, however, gone, and we can therefore only judge of their former use by analogy. They would certainly seem to have belonged to the class of so-called 'low side windows,' though their arrangement is, to some extent, unusual. At Middleham church, Yorks., there are two openings, somewhat broader, and six feet or more apart, below the east window of the chancel ; and two others, considerably less than these at Pittington, at the east end of Atcham church, Salop. Quite recently, however, and indeed while

these last pages were passing through the press, I came upon a very curious, but externally much mutilated example at Riccall church, near Selby, in a position very similar to that of these, viz., in the north aisle wall of the nave, and nearly opposite the south door. Internally, there is a perfectly preserved four-centred arch, very nearly flat, about six feet wide, and, together with its jambs, four and a half feet high. These, up to the surface of the present ashlar blocking, are about fifteen inches deep; the front part of the sill being sloped, while the back, next the blocking, is flat. Outside, unfortunately, the same careful obliteration has been resorted to as is observable at Elwick Hall and Old Seaham—only one stone, and that partly covered up, being left in position in the eastern corner, which still reveals its

PITTINGTON. J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

chamfer. More interesting and curious by far, however, than even this, is an accessory attached to it in the shape of a well-designed, semi-octagonal bracket, of earlier date than the recess, and but ten inches in diameter—too small apparently for a statue, of which indeed there is no indication, and which therefore, I think, can only have been intended, as at Elkstone and elsewhere, for an external lamp. Of some such arrangement as this we seem also to have an indication at the west end of the north aisle of the church of S. Mary, Castlegate, York. There, below the sill of the great west window, is a highly curious 'low end' one, square-headed, and of five lights, the two northernmost of which are distinguished from the rest by being not only more highly enriched, but grouped together by an enclosing arch.

Its sill is one foot nine inches above the ground; its height three feet seven inches; and its length seven feet eight inches. But the special peculiarities in this case, or rather perhaps one of them is, that the flat sill for the lamp, or lamps presumably, is on the *outside*, not inside; the window itself having evidently once been enclosed within some kind of portico or chamber, remains of which may still be faintly traced to the north, west, and south, and into which a doorway at the south end of the window, but now blocked, opened originally from the church. But whatever its nature or uses, the roof of this structure must have been quite flat, as there is but the space of eight inches between the head of the 'low,' and sill of the 'high,' end window over it. In point of height and length, as well as provision for outside light, this window at S. Mary's would seem to have had some kind of analogy with that at Riccall, though how far that extended cannot now, perhaps, be said. Anyhow, both are valuable as helping to shew in how many now forgotten and varying ways provision was once evidently made for the good estate and protection of the faithful dead.

REDMARSHALL.

The miniature village of Redmarshall enjoys vastly greater advantages of prospect and situation than most others in the county. And its church, a small, aisleless building, consisting of chancel, nave, with a transeptal chapel to the south, and a little pinnacled west tower, is interesting, and stands well. Essentially Norman, it possesses still a very high and narrow Norman tower arch of a single square-edged order; a chancel arch of similar description, though much lower and broader; and by far the finest and richest of the Norman doorways yet extant in Durham. In the fifteenth-century chapel, known as the Claxton porch, is the fine alabaster tomb of Thomas de Langton, lord of Wynyard, and Sybill, his wife, the one in a suit of plate mail, the other wearing the horned head-dress; but now, through modern stupidity, or worse, made to lie, not Christianly, as of old, east and west, but heathen-wise, north and south. East of the chapel come the sedilia, which may be best described, perhaps, as a long, low, rectangular recess, presenting exactly the front aspect of window with mullions and tracery, the latter taking the form of three

uncusped ogee-headed lights or apertures with pierced trefoils in the spandrils, and all enclosed within a label which terminates eastwards in the head of a king, and westwards in that of a bishop. Whether the ecclesiastics may have intended to afford a practical lesson in humility, as those who, though 'sitting by themselves,' were yet 'lowly in their own eyes,' or not, I cannot say; but the stone seat, after a fashion which I never either saw, or heard of, elsewhere, is only six and a half inches above the floor—an arrangement which, since the canopies themselves are unusually low, gives the whole a very singular and surprising appearance. The head of the bishop, with its deep scowling brows and great mouth, protruding like that of a baboon, is well worth notice on account of its phenomenal ugliness. Like two other, but much smaller, label terminations on the outside, however, it shews very considerable, if untutored, skill and power of expression.

Immediately opposite, to the north, is another very unusual and also very well preserved recess of another kind, a combined tomb, and, as I think can hardly be doubted, Easter sepulchre. Beneath a hooded roll and filleted circular-segmental arch is the flat grave-cover of a priest, sculptured in very low relief, with an extremely narrow shaft carrying a chalice, and terminating in a perfectly plain cross within a sunk circle. Altogether, a very striking and unusual arrangement, for the grave slab lies flat upon the floor.

But chiefly interesting as regards this enquiry, is that to which the foregoing constitute but a mere prelude—the mortuary light, in the usual south-west corner of the chancel. Outside, it is absolutely perfect, though, unfortunately, blocked. Like all above described, it too is a late insertion, yet, in its way, quite as exceptional as the sedilia and the Easter sepulchre. It is a broadly chamfered, perfectly simple parallelogram, two feet wide by two feet nine inches high, in the full; but set only about three inches from the angle, and barely six above the excavated and original surface of the soil. Thus the 'confession,' 'lychnoscope,' 'hagioscope,' 'lighting the reader of the lessons,' 'hand-bell ringing,' 'leper-communicating,' and 'watching the advent of the priest' theories fall to the ground, and receive their mittimus. But light, symbol of the Divine effulgence, would flow forth unrestrainedly, illuminating, far and near, the surface of the graves.

RYTON.

With the single exception of that of Winston, perched precipitously above the brink of Tees, and possibly of Coniscliffe, though the latter lacks its umbrageous setting, Ryton church enjoys the advantage of the most ideally beautiful site in the county. In respect alike of date, size, and general outline, it may be compared—and greatly to its own advantage—with that of Boldon; both consisting of chancels, naves, with north and south aisles, and western towers and spires—the latter features, though in the one case of wood and lead only, and in the other of stone, being equally well designed and admirable. But there all pretence of equality ceases, for, both in design and execution, Ryton church is incomparably superior. It affords, moreover, one of those very rare instances in which, as at Gainford, the whole structure was carried out at a single effort, and, saving the loss of the original high roofs, with little or no after-changes. Especially noteworthy are the fine proportions and excellent details of the chancel, which, originally, as at Easington, had an east window of five lancet lights. These, long ago destroyed, had been succeeded, through the miserable greed of some unknown rector, by a single square-headed one, which, during the incumbency of the late Archdeacon Thorpe, was in its turn replaced—before the restoration of the original high roof and gable—by a small and utterly despicable triplet.

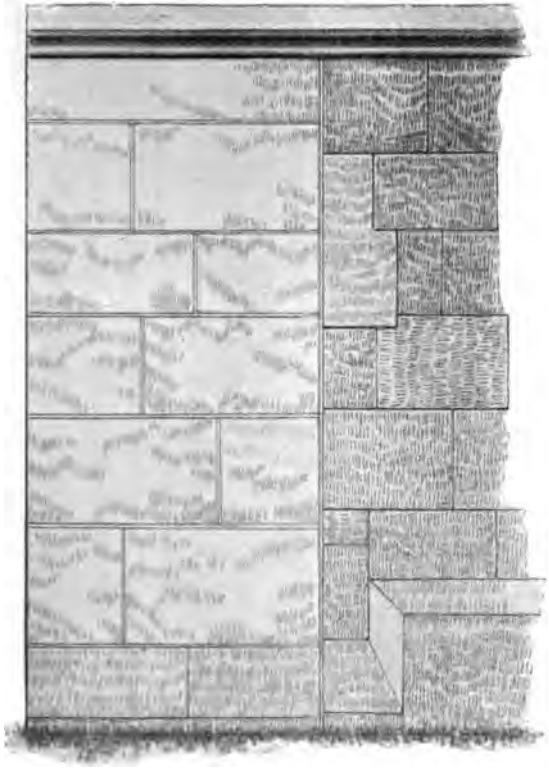
But, perhaps, the most interesting, if not beautiful feature of it is found in the slight, and all but imperceptible, remains of its mortuary, or 'low side window.' These are in several ways remarkable. In the first place, with respect to its position, which is not, as usual, merely towards, but actually in, the south-west angle. Secondly, in its plan, which, in the interior, takes the shape of a deep, square-headed recess, five feet ten inches high by three feet three inches wide, reaching from the floor to the string course below the windows. Thirdly, in the extraordinary pains, which, as the illustration, in which every stone is carefully drawn to scale, will show, have been taken to obliterate all trace of its existence; and fourthly, in the fact that, like all others hitherto delineated, it too has been a latter insertion. Of this, we have the slight and fragmentary, but sufficiently

convincing evidence in the carefully-chiselled-away return of the eastern end of the hood-mould; and which points, probably, to the fifteenth century. Save in the case of a smaller one on the south side of the church of S. Margaret Walmgate, York, this is, I think, the most elaborate instance of the blocking and obscuring of these openings that I have anywhere met with.

SEAHAM.

Seaham, or Old Seaham church, as it is now commonly called, is one of those 'hoary haunts of sweet antiquity' which, sheltered among trees, seem only the sweeter and hoarier from standing all isolated and alone in the midst of intensely modern and unsympathetic surroundings. It also enjoys the distinction of being one of the two or three unrestored old churches in the diocese of Durham. Not, however, that its condition by any means warrants a continuance in that category; for, though the outside of the building seems generally in fair condition, the interior presents as exact a replica of the unprosperous, poverty-stricken dissenting meeting-house of seventy or eighty years ago as can well be imagined. Outside, its most salient features are seen in the low Early English western tower, with its surprisingly long lancets; and in the two eastern round-headed windows of the chancel, with their indented Transitional hood-moulds: inside, in the pointed tower and chancel arches—all of early and striking character.

Of the mortuary light which once existed traces only are discernible in the south-west angle of the chancel; and these too slight, perhaps, from which to form any exact or certain ideas of its appearance. But that it also was an insertion there can hardly be a doubt, since the remains of its outline indicate that it was, as nearly as possible, of the same shape and dimensions as that at Redmarshall—a square, two feet in width by about two feet eight or ten inches in height, and, like it, set both close into the angle, and low, though not quite so low, down in the wall. Why puritanical hatred and contempt of all ancient Christian offices of reverence and affectionate solicitude for the dead should have gone to the virulently fanatical length of all but sheer obliteration of such evidences, as they have taken in the present, and other instances, would be altogether



RYTON.

J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

OLD SEAHAM.

inexplicable, were it not, unhappily, equalled in so many other directions. Probably even yet, however, if only the inside could be examined, conclusive evidence both of the form and details would be forthcoming—a result much to be desired, and as easy of accomplishment.

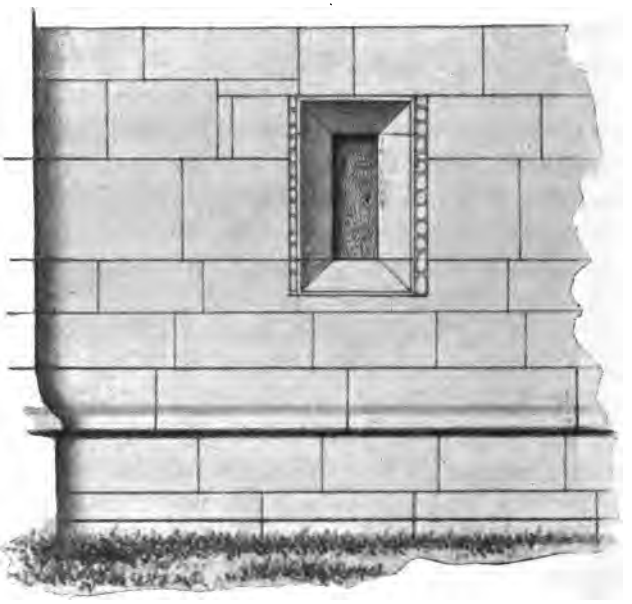
But, if the opening itself has suffered so exceptionally, the curious stone seat or platform, of rough rubble—for the covering slabs are gone—which was erected underneath it, remains,—the only one, unless that at Medomsley be another, that I have met with either in Durham or elsewhere. What the exact purpose of this platform may have been cannot now be said, though that it had some connexion or other with the opening above it can hardly admit of doubt. It is certainly much longer than necessary for trimming a lamp upon, like the little shelves attached to the Lanternes des Morts; but it might serve very well for either sitting or kneeling on, seeing it is only eight inches high, by watchers or others, who, like those mentioned in Cornelius à Lapide, burned lights, and offered prayers at night-time for the dead.

STAINDROP.

Though of considerable size and dignity, the church of Staindrop, like so many others in the county of Durham, is unquestionably more interesting than beautiful; for notwithstanding that its several parts are, or were, well enough in themselves, the whole cannot be called attractive. Of its many and varied features one of the finest and most remarkable was the Nevill chantry which, built entirely anew in 1343, formed a highly developed and picturesque south aisle to the nave which, while fully equalling in height, it very greatly exceeded in breadth. And of the same aisle one of the most interesting, though by no means beautiful, details is discovered in the little opening, of which an exact and carefully measured reproduction may be seen in the accompanying plate. It is interesting in a double sense: first in respect of its situation, which is to the west of the porch; that is to say, in the south-west corner of the aisle—a position exactly analogous to that usually allotted to others of its class in chancels: and secondly, in the fact that it formed no part of the original design, but was cut clean through the wall at a later time, the four front stones only,

which compose its face, being then inserted new—a circumstance which accounts for the side joints being filled in with chips, where the stones did not quite fit.

Two other openings of exactly the same size and shape, but built along with the walls, occur in the west and east sides of the closely adjoining porch, where they are set as close to the aisle wall as possible. Curiously enough, they have long—time out of mind—been carefully built up, while the 'low side,' contrary to universal custom, has been



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

STAINDROP.

left open. What the precise purpose of these two openings, unless similar to that served by the one in the aisle, might be, viz., to throw light in those several directions as well, seems difficult to say. As the archway of the porch is very large—of its full dimensions indeed—they certainly could not be needed for the purpose of *admitting* light, for such as entered, would be practically imperceptible in a place literally flooded with it. In the north porch of Broadwater church, Sussex, which also has a large entrance archway, is a curious little

STANHOPE.

J. W. H. *mens. et delt.*

WHITBURN (see page 231).

unglazed window, with a flat sill (closely resembling a 'low side' one at Coombes in the same county) set close to the archway, and which, like these at Staindrop, cannot possibly have been required to admit light. The question is an interesting one, whether these openings, as well as many others in different places, as notably at Bishop Middleham, where they are of thirteenth, or early fourteenth-century date, may not also have been designed for use as 'lanternes des morts,' for which, from their position, they seem so well suited. In all these cases, as at Staindrop, the sills are flat, and perfectly adapted for standing lamps upon.

STANHOPE.

Far off and away in the wilds of Weardale, Stanhope church is as well worth visiting as it is suitable to its situation. In general form and outline it recalls that of Gainford, with its low, squat, western tower, and long-aisled, but unclearstoreyed nave and chancel. And both are of much the same simple and early style—Stanhope, which may, perhaps, in its earlier parts, reach as far back as the closing years of the twelfth century, being somewhat the earlier. Originally consisting of an aisleless nave and chancel, with a western bell-cot only, its first additions were evidently those of the tower and south aisle, with a massive, round-arched arcade. Then, a little later, another aisle with a similar but much lighter arcade towards the north; the introduction of Early Decorated windows to the east and south of the chancel; the erection of a chantry at the eas tend, and in continuation of, the north aisle; and the insertion of larger windows into the older aisle southwards.

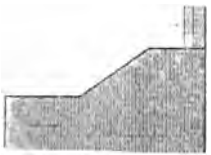
Of the two inserted south windows of the chancel, the lower and westernmost, like that at Norton, would seem to have been very well adapted for the exhibition of a mortuary light; though, as often happens in such cases, there is no distinct evidence of the fact. Though modern, the sill, which there seems no reason to think in any way altered from the original, is, as in that case also, flat. One, or more lights could, therefore, conveniently be placed upon it.

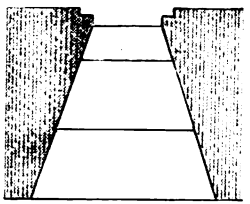
The tracery, as in some other early instances of the style, exhibits, as can hardly fail to be observed, a sort of anticipatory suggestion of Perpendicular principles, in the fact of the mullions being carried up

straight into the arch. This premature development of verticality—observable in all the rest, though with variations—is to be referred, however, as is abundantly evident, not to any abnormal precocity, but purely to the untutored ignorance, and want of skill on the part of the 'local practitioner.' Various highly curious instances of the application of the same methods by far abler and more scientific men are to be met with elsewhere; though, through originating in mere expediency, and offering an easy way out of instant difficulty only, they came to nothing, and died a natural death. Interesting examples of what the Stanhope mason was driving at may be seen in the restored south windows of the Galilee chapel at Durham, and still better in the south-west one of the chancel at Lanchester, introduced by, or in the time of, bishop Bek, when he made that church collegiate in 1283. An admirable interior view of the latter, shewing the remarkable splaying of its head, is given by the late Mr. Billings, in his *Architectural Antiquities of the County of Durham.*

TRIMDON.

Whatever advantages may accrue to such churches as those of Ryton, Winston, or Coniscliffe, in regard to position, have certainly been denied to that of Trimdon. But if set in the midst of the dismal and depressing pit district, the old village of Trimdon is yet, happily for itself, at some distance from the vast and hideous colliery that bears its name. Historically interesting as the starting-point of king Cnut's famous barefooted pilgrimage over Garmundsway moor to S. Cuthbert's shrine at Durham, it consists of a long, wide, straggling, and irregular street, clambering steeply from east to west, with its ancient church, scarce larger or more important than a cottage, and as mean and poor as one itself, at the lower end beneath the shelter of some trees. They serve, at least, to impart some slight sense of dignity and seclusion to a situation which is probably unique among others in the county, by occupying a central space. Consisting originally of an aisleless nave and chancel only, it has, during a comparatively recent restoration, been extended, like those of Witton Gilbert and Medomsley in modern, and Witton-le-Wear and Coniscliffe in ancient times, by the addition of a single aisle towards the north. With the exception of some very few





J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

TRIMDON.—EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR.

details, however, there is nothing either to attract attention or deserve notice. Of these, by far the most important are the chancel arch and 'low side window,' which occupies the usual place. The latter has commonly been described as Norman. This, however, is quite a mistake, since the contemporary arch, about which there can be no doubt whatever, is clearly of the Transitional period. In point of design it closely resembles those at Witton Gilbert and S. Margaret's, Durham, and, like both these examples, as well as the now vanished one at S. Giles's, was doubtless due to the self-same architect, William the engineer, who built the Galilee. Yet, just as in his works at those places, so here again, we see the same too evident signs of weakness and constructive incapacity in the considerable spreading that has occurred, accompanied by the necessary flattening of its curve, and pushing out of its supports. But though not Norman, the window may still claim the distinction (apart from the Saxon fragment at Jarrow) of being the earliest of this class of openings that we possess, and what is more, has not only always been used as a window, pure and simple, but is of the original construction, and not, like all the rest so far described, an insertion. It thus, apparently, bears out the conjecture that, previous to the introduction of special apertures contrived, either within, or apart from, the ordinary windows, the common plan was, as in the present instance, to utilize one or more of them for the like purpose. The same relative positions, I may remark, are observable here as are found, generally, in later instances, the sill being just four feet above the ground, and the jamb ten inches from the angle; while the clear width of the light is about a foot, and the height three feet. As the section shews, the sill is flat, both towards the glass, and the interior surface of the wall, so that a lamp could quite easily be placed on either one side of it or the other.

WHITBURN.

The village of Whitburn, pleasantly situated on the sea, possesses a church which, though well-nigh restored to death, still retains many interesting features, notably the tall western tower, with its very effective coupled ogee-headed and trefoliated lights, and short, wood and lead-covered spire. It may be said to occupy the last place

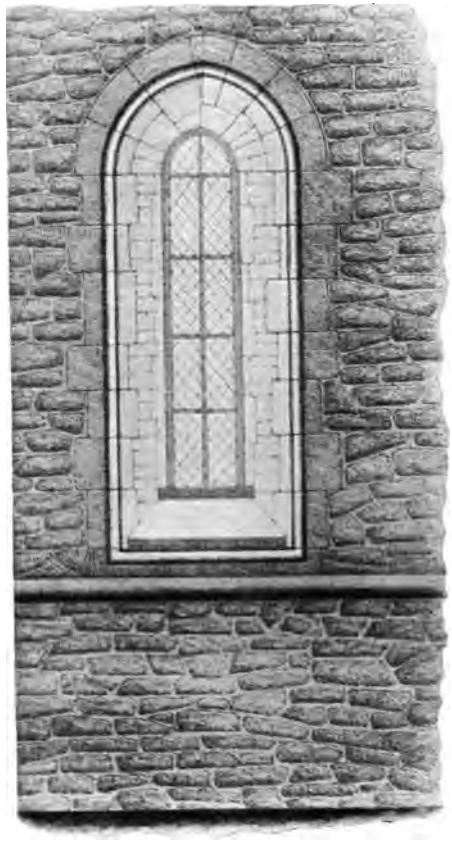
among the five ancient remaining ones of the county; for while those of Chester-le-Street and Ryton are both lofty and imposing, the two others of Boldon and Coniscliffe, though on a much humbler scale, are yet not only larger, but of stone. The church itself is also noteworthy, as having, unlike most others, arcades of five bays on either side of the nave, both alike, and consisting of two plain pointed orders carried on round pillars; that opening to the tower, which is of the same early thirteenth-century character, having three, with the inner one carried on corbels. As also happened at Staindrop, when this tower was very considerably heightened in the fourteenth century, the original belfry was converted into a ringing loft, which its windows, now filled with glass, serve to lighten. All the rest throughout the church are at present modern in every part, save, happily, the hood-mould of the most interesting of all—the 'low side' of the chancel. That itself, though also modern, is yet, to all appearance, an exact replica by the then restoring architect, the late Mr. Dobson, of Newcastle, of what he found there, and, if so, interesting, not only from the singularity of its cusping, but from the fact of its very early insertion. It comes unusually low down, its sill being only about two feet above the ground, while those of all the four lancets, which are original on the inside, are at a level of over five feet. Its jamb is also within two feet of the south-west angle. But, though nearly the whole of the outside of it is new, the inside is old and, though much boarded up and hidden by the stall backs, apparently untouched. The curiously rough and irregular method of insertion in this part can hardly escape notice, for while the space between the hood-mould and the segmental pointed arch is no less than ten inches at the springing, eastwards, and only three near the top, it is four directly opposite, and seven and a half below. An exploration of this opening, which would be as easy as inexpensive, is much to be desired.

WINSTON.

Of all the churches in the county of Durham, not one can compare for beauty of situation with that of Winston—a pastoral spot of perfect loveliness. Crowning the verge of a lofty wooded brow descending precipitously to the Tees, glimpses of whose sparkling waters, murmuring ceaselessly on their way, peep out far below; well

South-west window of chancel, with blocked priest's door beneath.

WINSTON.

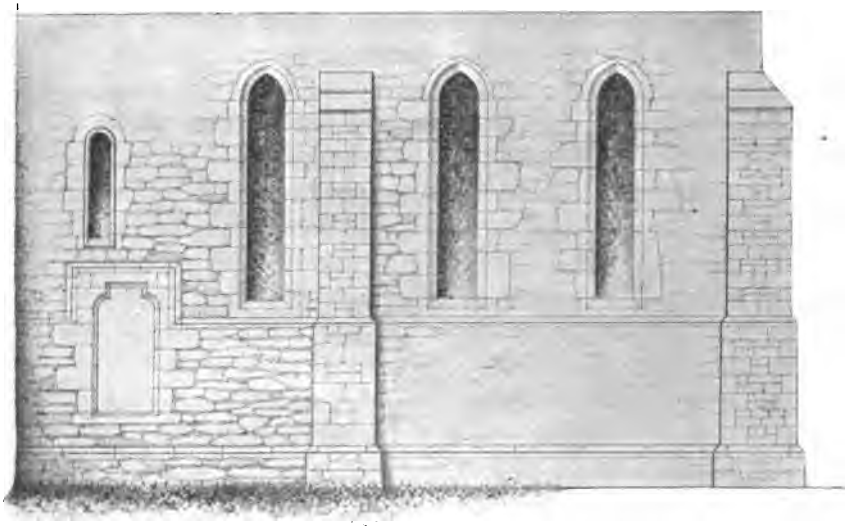


J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

North-west window of chancel.

sheltered by massive groups of trees to the east and north, the vast fragments of one of which—an enormous ash—carry us back straightway to mediæval times, it forms the culminating point of one of the most exquisitely beautiful and diversified stretches in that romantic river's course.

Never, save perhaps for its chancel, of any architectural note, and very badly and unsympathetically restored above fifty years ago, the church itself is much less attractive than its site. Bold and massive in its scale and details, the chancel, however, still possesses, notwith-



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

WINSTON CHURCH.—Elevation of South Side of Chancel.

standing the loss of both its ancient roofs, high pitched and flat respectively, much to repay examination. First, the many stones of Roman broaching to be found in its walls, as in those of Lanchester and Escomb, and brought probably from Piersebridge ; then the great size of its broad and lofty lancets, two to the north, three each to the south and east, and the irregular way in which the last are spaced ; after that the elaborate thirteenth-century gravestone, covered all over with birds and foliage built up—like another, and still finer, in the neighbouring church of Wycliffe—edgeways and lengthways in its

southern wall; and last, but chiefest of all, its two strikingly distinct and much smaller windows, westwards of all the rest, and which, though undoubtedly 'side,' are yet quite the reverse of 'low.' In proportion to the body of the church, the chancel, as so frequently the case at that time, is exceedingly large; the nave, of much the same length, having only a single small aisle towards the south. Of this, the two eastern bays have evidently once formed a chantry, their arches, of two plain pointed orders, characteristically obtuse, being carried on a tall circular column, while the western one, of the same date and style is separated from them by a broad flat pier. The chancel arch, thin and sharply pointed, is wholly modern, and, besides being bad in itself, wholly out of keeping with the old work.

Interest, however, whether externally or internally, centres chiefly in the two smaller chancel windows—the most striking and original of their class I have ever met with. Striking, from the evidently intentioned and violent contrast they present to the rest; and original, equally in respect of their architectural treatment, and date of construction. That they are not the sole surviving remains of an earlier chancel, as some more ingenious than scientific person has supposed, is plain from the fact of the earth table, and set-off below the sills, which, on the outside, run below the whole of them; and on the inside, by the bold and singular string course—very similar to that at S. Andrew Auckland—which is continued round both sides and end, without a break. A striking difference, moreover, is observable between the two, for while the southern one, which is the smaller, is round-headed, the northern, which is both broader and higher, is pointed, and while the surrounding internal moulding of the round-headed one is pointed, that of the pointed-headed one is round. Another point also worthy of notice is that whereas the sills of all the other and larger windows slope steeply and without a break from the glass downwards to the string course, those of the two smaller ones do not; but have, in the southern one, a flat space or platform, eight and a half inches broad on the inner side; and in the northern, two, one of six inches next to the glass, and a second, of six and a half next the string course. Unlike the rest, too, both of them are checked or rebated, internally; the smaller one being in the clear,

about one foot broad by five and a half high; and the larger, one foot and a third by about seven and a half respectively. Attention should further be given to the level at which these windows are placed, the sill of the northern one being quite eight and a half feet, while that of the southern one is no less than ten and a half above the soil. Thus, since the walls are three feet thick, 'confessions,' of which, from the provision made, we must suppose two—to the great confusion of all concerned—to have been going on at once, would not only have to be shouted; but the 'hand-bell ringer'—whose double duties could only have benefitted the birds and fishes—as well as the priests and the communicating 'lepers,' for whom again, even in this minute place, a double provision was made, would need the aid of ladders; the 'distribution of alms' being necessarily conducted in the same fashion; while the 'watchers for the priest'—since the rectory adjoins the churchyard to the east—would have their labour for their pains, since his advent would be quite invisible from either one or other of them.

V.—RESEARCHES INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OGLE.

By Sir HENRY A. OGLE, BART.

Read on the 27th of March, 1901.

I.—The rev. John Hodgson says that 'Ogle in the earliest evidences to the pedigree of the family of that name is written Hoggel, Oggehill, Ogille, and Oghill . . . but, under all its forms, to me it never "comes in such questionable shape" that I can confidently dare to "speak" as to an intelligible name. Is it from *hog*, a sheep in its state from a lamb to its first shearing, and *hill*, from the hill where the hogs of the estate were pastured, and thus, like Lambley, Ewesley, Cowsley, Horsley, Ramshope, etc., having its name from the use it was made of.'[1]

II.—A writer in *Notes and Queries* says the name Ogle appears to be a contraction or corruption of Ogwell, which is found in several place names, as East and West Ogwell in Devonshire. . . . Og, he says, is common to all Teutonic families in differing forms, Gothic, *Og* or *Ag;* Old High German, *eg-isso;* Old Norse, *ogn;* Anglo-Saxon, *oga;* with the meaning of fear, dread, awe, Ogwell would then be the well of fear, in other words, the haunted well; so with Ogbourne, Ogden, Ogley, indicating the supernatural element in each. The verb to ogle, to leer, to cast side glances has no connexion with the Anglo-Saxon *oga*, being derived from an entirely different root. Ogle in Northumberland is found written Oggil, but the personal name may sometimes be of Gaelic origin, Glen Ogle near Lochearnhead is said to translate 'terrible glen,' doubtless from Gaelic *eagalach*, from *eagal*, fear; but Ogle appears also to be an Anglo-Saxon or Danish personal name, as it occurs in composition with topographical expressions in several family names, as Ogilvie, Oglewy, Ogilby, Oglesby, the residence of Ogle, and Oglethorpe, the village of Ogle, etc.[2]

III.—The following notes, however, may possibly throw out a different light, and might lead, in the hands of an expert, to some-

[1] Hodgson, *Hist. of Northumberland*, part II. vol. i. p. 394.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, 7th series, vol. ii.

thing tangible. It seems at present scarcely possible to see the way clearly through all the discordant elements stated by various historians.

From an early period of the Roman dominion in Gaul, the coast north of Finisterre, as well as the eastern and southern shores of Britain, were infested by Saxons, by reason of which the seaboard in both countries was called 'Littus Saxonicum.'[3] Upon the withdrawal of the Roman legions from Britain, the country being left unaided, the Picts, strengthened by marauders from Ireland, and the race pillaging along the British Channel, harried the British.[4] It seems, however, that these pillaging people were not confined to the Saxons[5] alone. Turner says that at the beginning of the fourth century the Saxons were not alone on the ocean; other states, both to the north and south, were moving in concert with them, whose nominal distinctions were lost in the Saxon name;[6] and it is not at all unlikely that these tribes—as the Norwegians and Danes at a later date—had some connexion with Ireland, especially as the Scots by some are said to be of Scandinavian origin, and that the islands of Aran on the west coast of Scotland were one of their strongholds, for a seafaring people accustomed to pillage would build such forts as are to be found on Inishmore, and use the island as a base. One of these forts, Dun Aengus, is described as 'the most magnificent barbaric monument now extant in Europe.' The 'Legend,' however, attributes the inhabitants to a remnant of the Belgic race driven from Scotland, who fortified themselves in Mayo, Galway, Clare, and these islands; but the rev. C. H. Hartshorne attributes a later date than the first century, viz., the fifth century.[7]

The British being unable to cope with the ravages of these tribes, and of the Picts and Scots, had recourse to a league with the tribes

[3] *Rotuli Norm. Scacarii.* Haigh, *Conquest of Britain by the Saxons*, p. 161.

[4] Green, *Short History of the English People.*

[5] The term Saxon seems to have been applied by the Romans to all tribes infesting and pillaging the coasts, and the term once in use seems apparently to have been applied to any tribe pillaging, whatever their origin. (See Mackenzie's *Hist. of Northumberland*, p. 22.)

[6] Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 147.

[7] *Proc. Soc. Ant.* vol. xv.

infesting their coasts, who were probably Jutes, but spoken of generally as Saxons, these two tribes and the Angles having formerly been considered as allied to each other.[8] It will, however, be seen that the Jutes were allied originally to the Scandinavian Goths, and afterwards may have coalesced with the Angles. Mr. Worsaae says it was the Roman authors who spoke of them as a Germanic race, but owing to the limited geographical knowledge of the period, the accounts which refer to the northern peninsula of Holland have sometimes been transferred to the peninsula of Jutland.[9] So the terms Saxon and Saxony, not being discriminate, must be understood to have a wider significance.[10] The leaders whom Vortigern called to aid were Hengist and Horsa, and there is some question whether the date of this league was 428 A.D. or 449 A.D., and whether Hengist was a Jute or a Frisian.[11] It is contended that the Cat Stane (Battle Stone) near Edinburgh, near Kirkliston in Lothian, on which is the inscription, 'IN (H)OC TVMVLO JACET VETTA F VICTI,'[12] represents Vetta, son of Victus, or Witta, son of Wecta, of the Kentish genealogy, and represents the grandfather of Hengist and Horsa; and it appears that the Picts, Saxons,[10] Scots, and Attacots were continually ravaging the Roman provinces in Britain, from A.D. 364 to 368, and the Picts, Scots, and Saxons,[10] are said to have been pursued by Theodosius as far as the Orkneys; and it is far from improbable that Wecta and Witta were leaders of these Saxons,[10] and Witta fell in the conflict.[13] Skene indicates that there were real settlements of Saxons[10] on the east coast of Scotland in the year 344.[14] Procopius speaks of the Frisians as having settled in this country along with the Angles,[10] and in Lincolnshire occur such names as Friesthorpe and Frieston. Lappenberg conjectures that the Frisians,

[8] Camden, 1607, pp. 102, 103.

[9] J. A. Worsaae, *Primeval Antiquities.*

[10] Some confusions of thought may arise from the words Angles, Saxons and Jutes being used indiscriminately. See note above.

[11] Hodgson, *Hist. of Northumberland*, part i. p. 59. Haigh, *Conquest of Britain by the Saxons.*

[12] See woodcut of this stone, *Arch. Ael.* vol. xiii., p. 370.

[13] *Ib.* pp. 141, 145. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. iv.

[14] *Arch. Ael.*, vol. vii. p. 92.

Franks, and Longobards took part with the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons in the subjugation and colonization of Britain.[15]

A Frisian tradition, quoted by Suffredus, tells us that two nephews and namesakes of Hengist and Horsa, sons of Udolph, duke of Frisia, and of their sister Svana, completed the conquest of Britain which they had begun,[16] and Henry of Huntingdon states that in 444[17] king Hengist and Æse, his son, arrived with reinforcements, which is the first notice of a second Hengist,[18] for apparently one Hengist died in 443. The leaders of the Anglo-Saxons bore names used by the Frisians: Horste, Hengist, Witte, etc., and Dr. Bosworth cites Maerlant in his chronicle as doubtful whether to call Hengist Saxon or Frisian.[19] It thus seems possible that the leaders of these Jutish tribes were connected by marriage with the Frisians, and that there were two Hengists whose arrivals in Britain were separated by some sixteen years. With regard to Vortigern, king of Britain, who invited Hengist and Horsa over, and who also wished to marry the daughter of Hengist, it is related, 'And Hengist having taken counsel with his elders who had come with him from the island of Oghgul, as to what they should ask for the girl . . . and Hengist said to the king . . . I will invite my son and his cousin . . . that they may fight against the Scots and give them the countries which are to the North near the Wall, which are called Gual. The king commanded that they should be invited, and he invited them, Ochta and Abisa, with XL Keels. And when they had sailed round the country of the Picts, laid waste the Orkneys, and came and occupied several territories across the Frisian Sea, that is to say, the country which is between us and the Scots, as far as the boundaries of the Picts. And Hengist continually sent for fresh ships, a few at a time, so that the islands from which they came were left without inhabitants.' In Giles's 'Gildas and Nennius' the wording is similar,

[15] Haigh, *Conquest of Britain by the Saxons*, pp. 157-160.

[16] *Ib.* p. 127.

[17] The dates are those given by Mr. Haigh: to convert to the usual dates twenty-one years must be added. See also *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vol. iv. p. 156, in which the author thinks the earlier dates probably correct.

[18] *Ib.* pp. 259, 260.

[19] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vol. iv.

but he has the Oghgul *race* instead of *island*.[20] Mr. Hodgson Hinde believes the place they occupied to be Lothian, and there seems to be no doubt that the occupation was on the east coast, and Worsaae says it is quite certain, both at this time and at a later period, a number of Jutes settled on the east of England, particularly in the northern parts.[21] Keltie says, that shortly after 446 (*i.e.* 425) the Saxons established themselves on the Tweed, and afterwards extended their settlements to the Frith of Forth.[22] It also appears that this part of Scotland was once called 'Saxony,' and it is recorded in the Pictish Chronicles, 'the Picts made a raid upon Saxony.'[23] Considering the language quoted above, it seems clear that no foreign place to the east or south of England would suit, but such an island and stronghold as Inishmore on the west of Ireland (see above) suits the language used perfectly. No one wishing to sail to the Forth or Tweed would sail round the country of the Picts, and go to the Orkneys, which is quite out of the way, unless they came from the west. Not only is this so, but on the same island of Inishmore is Dun Oghill (Dun Eochla) or Fort Oghill, which is described as a finer example (of an old fortification) than Dun Aengus,[24] another fort which itself is described by Petrie as the 'most magnificent barbaric monument now extant in Europe.'[25] If then Dun Oghill was once the principal fort, the fort and the island may have had, originally, the same name,[26] especially as the village near the centre of the island

[20] Nennius, *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, pp. 65, 66. Mr. Haigh states that seventeen out of twenty-seven manuscripts collated by Mr. Petrie agree in ascribing 'The History of the Britons,' usually ascribed to Nennius, to Gildas, and he says the catalogue of Arthur's twelve battles is certainly the work of a contemporary, and that the work must have been transcribed in A.D. 675, but that Nennius may have translated it later. If this is correct we have then the authority of the year 471. (See *Conq. of Brit. by Sax.* pp. 6-10.)

[21] Worsaae, *Danes in England*, p. 80.

[22] *History of the Scottish Highlands*, etc., p. 56.

[23] Green, *Short History of the English People*, pp. 178, 179.

[24] *Royal Soc. Ant. Irel.* v. 1895, p. 260.

[25] Murray's *Ireland*, revised by John Cooke, M.A.

[26] *Note.*—The Aran islands, of which Inishmore is one, seem to associate the name with Arran island in Scotland, and thirty miles to the north lies Inishbofin, the island to which Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, retired in the seventh century, which gives another association, seeing he was connected also with Iona. A professor of the Galway University also informed the writer that the people of Inishmore were a fair race, and he thought the Danes must have settled there. St. Columba was patron of Desertoghill Church, a parish in the diocese of Derry and barony of Coleraine in the county of Londonderry. *Historians of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. lix., quoting from Reeves' *Colton*, p. 80.

is still called Oaghill or Oghill, which is in the parish of Arranmore in the barony of Arran, Galway, Connaught,[27] and the idea is supported by the statement of Nennius that Hengist and Horsa were exiles.[28] And thus, if this surmise is correct, the island of Oghgul, from which Hengist came—this voyage at all events—may be looked for at or about Inishmore, rather than is generally assumed from or amongst the Danish islands. This inference is supported by a later statement by Nennius that Ochta, after the death of Hengist, crossed from the 'sinistral,' that is, the west of Britain, to the kingdom of Kent.[29] In some manuscripts it seems that they have it that Hengist came from the race of Ochgul or Ongle;[30] and Lappenberg calls the island Angul, saying some manuscripts have Oghgull.

The materials for the history were no doubt taken from writings in Runic characters, and it seems probable that the words with the greater number of characters existed first as they would be transcribed letter by letter, and afterwards when the sounds became familiar be transcribed with fewer characters; in this way the word Ongle would be derived from Oghgul or Ochgul, for 'the Runic *ing* in several different systems resembled the duplication of *c* or *g*,'[31] *ing* being equivalent to *ng*; but by the characters given by Mr. Haigh, the Gothic *inc* (or *ing*) is like a variety of two *c*'s, and the Anglo-Saxon *ing* is like a *g* over a *g*; but the presence of the *h*, and the fact that Ongle would have four characters and Oghgul or Ochgul six, make it difficult to transform the latter words into Ongul and then Ongle, but there does not seem to be the same difficulty in changing Ongle into Angle, which would be affected by a badly formed Runic *O*, and this change occurs sometimes in other personal names.

Mr. Haigh gives some inscriptions which he says appear to be in Northumbrian dialect. 'The characteristic difference between these and the later forms of the language appears to be in the frequent use of Gifu for Haegl,[32] that is in *g* and *h*; in this way all the differ-

[27] *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*, 1844-5.
[28] Turner, *Hist. of Anglo-Saxons*, p. 253.
[29] See also Haigh's *Conq. of Brit. by Saxons*, p. 8.
[30] *Ib.* p. 219 *n.*
[31] *Ib.* p. 81.
[32] Haigh, *Conq. of Brit. by Saxons*, p. 44.

ences in spelling seem to be accounted for excepting perhaps Ongle ; but as Hengist is usually reckoned to be either a Jute or possibly a Frisian, and the Jutish settlements are said to lie in Kent, in the Isle of Wight,[33] and the colony in the north, it would seem that Hengist should have come from a Jutish rather than an Anglian country. On these deductions and suppositions it would appear that the word Angle was introduced later.

Oghgul is stated to be the name of an island, according to Nennius, in the Northern Kingdom, here written Ogghul,[34] but at the present day there is no island on the coast of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, etc., called by this name, and the only near approaches to it, having, however, the aspirant *H*, are Hogdall and Hoghalla, both being in Sweden, the former a town near the border of Norway on the sea, near to which are some islands, and the latter a point of land near the entrance to Copenhagen, and near the province of Göteborg, in which Hogdal lies. In this same province, and twenty miles inland, near Lake Wener, was Bohuslän, in which district, about the year 700-800, a family named Ogell were hereditary judges,[35] and the same name occurs in the Ogelstromen—the Ogel Stream or River—a river rising on the borders near Norway and flowing into the Angermann near Liden.

Worsaae shows[36] how Scandinavia, a century or two later, with the islands of Gothland, Öland, and Bornholme, was a centre of trade with the east, and also with England ; we may suppose this to have been a growth from much earlier periods, especially as Hörsa, on the mainland near Öland island, has the same name as Hengist's brother ; moreover, Camden says the word 'Jutes' comes from Gutae, Getae, or Goths, and thus Gothland may have been Jutish territory.

Mr. J. Worsaae says our fathers belonged to the great Gothic stock.[37] He says the earliest Scandinavian traditions mention that those races who had last migrated into the North lived on friendly

[33] The name of the Isle of Wight was Vecta or Wecta. See *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vol. iv.

[34] *Universal Lexicon.*

[35] Communicated by Mr. Kittell, a Swede.

[36] *Danes in England*, chap. x.

[37] Worsaae, *Primeval Ant. of Denmark*, p. 68.

terms with a people named the Alfs, who at an earlier period lived at Alfheim in the south of Norway and in the north of Jutland.[38] Also the oldest Runic inscriptions in Denmark are as pure Scandinavian as any other in the north,[39] and in some of the oldest Icelandic Sagas and Chronicles of the North it is said that Denmark in the earliest time was called Eygotland (the island of the Goths) and Reiogotland (the continent of the Goths), or, by one name, Gotland. In the fifth century the Goths (Jütes) went over to England from Jutland which country was still, in the ninth century, called by the Anglo-Saxons Gotland. . . . There can be very little doubt that the inhabitants of Denmark in the bronze period were a *Gothic* tribe. . . . It has been said that they were a Gotho-Germanic and not a Gotho-Scandinavian race . . . but against this we have not only, as already shown, the testimony of the monuments, but also the testimony of the history of Scandinavia.[40]

About the year 400 or 500 Scandinavia was thus peopled by Norwegians, Swedes, and Goths, who were divided into Göths in Götaland and Goths in Denmark. The dialect by no means shows that the Goths spoke a German language.[41]

The name Oggel is said to have been at one time common in Scandinavia, and it occurs at Kampen in Holland.[42] The modern word 'ogle' is also of Dutch origin.[43] It will be found that most of the geographical places in Great Britain, approaching to the same sound of the name under consideration, exist in or near the district situated between the Firth of Forth and the Tweed and up to the Roman Wall, viz., the Ogle burn in the parish of Innerwick, Ogle in Northumberland, and also Ogleburgh[44] near Chatton, also the barony or regality of Ogleface in Linlithgow, shown under Torpichen. Robert III. granted the canons of Holyrood a regal jurisdiction over their barony of Ogleface[45] on the 10th July, 1424, John Murrefe (Murray) of Ogilface is mentioned[46]; and, presuming the aspirant *H* coming from

[38] Worsaae, *Primeval Ant. of Denmark*, p. 136. [39] *Ib.* p. 143. [40] *Ib.* p. 144.
[41] *Ib.* p. 146.
[42] See a work by P. J. Oggell printed at Kampen. Brit. Mus.
[43] Skeat's *Etymological Dict.*
[44] Carlisle, *Topographical Dict. England.* [45] *Ibid.*
[46] *Laing Charters.*

bad pronunciation does not interfere with phonetic requirements,[47] Hoghill fort, a prehistoric fort of extraordinary size and of great interest.[48] It is on the river Lyne about three miles from the Tweed, upon which the Saxons are stated to have settled. There is also a fort near Hoghill in the Lammermuir hills; but it is to be noted that there is an occurrence of Hoga, Hog, Hoeg, Hoga, Hogan, Hogaland—Hogh means, it seems, high place, the Dutch Hoog, meaning high. These names are usually found in connexion with remains of so-called 'Pictish forts,'[49] but that Hoghill may be allowable, see above.[50] Somewhat farther off there is Glen Ogle between Loch Earn and Killin, Coilantogle near Callander. In the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, in 1552, mention is made of land in Erslintone called Ogle Land, Berwick, also in 1665 a James Fentoun of Ogill and William Johnastown of Ogill occur. This name Ogil or Ogill seems to have occurred in Perthshire or Forfarshire, and is probably the same as Ochill, the Ochil hills lying north of Edinburgh, from which word the town Ochiltree is presumably deduced as a compound, but Ochiltree seems to have been written formerly Oghiltree, as there was a Stewart baron Oghiltree,[51] and the same name occurs in the Record Office at Dublin, as Mungo Oghilltree in 1735, Michael Oghelltree in 1746, which names later take the modern form, as Matthew Ocheltree in 1813 and Mary Ochiltree in 1856, all these being wills of those dates in the diocese of Armagh; thus we may conclude that Ochil and Oghill are the same and modifications of Ogle. In Runic characters the C or K and G are sometimes found under the same character.[52]

The spelling of the word since the Norman Conquest occurs as Hoggel or Hoggal, Ogla (probably misspelling for Ogle), Hoghill, Oghell, Hoggill, Oghill, D'Oggill, D'Ogle, de Oggle, de Ogle, Oghil,

[47] A distinction has to be made between words copied from writings and those written down from word of mouth, for instance, Hexham anciently was written Hextoldesham and Extoldesham, etc. (Surtees Soc. publ. p. ix. app. ii.)

[48] *Pro. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xxi.

[49] T. S. Muir, *Ecclesiological Notes.*

[50] Hodgson, *Hist. of Northumberland*, part ii. vol. i. p. 394.

[51] Quoted Harl. MS. No. 245, f. 273.

[52] Worsaae, *Primeval Ant. of Denmark*, p. 115. Haigh, *Conq. of Brit. by Saxons*, pp. 48, 49.

Oggehill, Oggille, Oggill, Oggell, Oggil, Oggel, Oggle, Ogyll, Ogill, Ogell, Ogele, Ogel, showing a great variety of form and a free use of the aspirant, and representing both place and surnames.

In Scottish records the name Ogyll and Ogill, the names Ogilwy, Ogilvy, Ogilby occur, the latter being taken as equivalent names.[53]

In the registers of Felton, Northumberland, the name Phillip Ogleby occurs in 1673. A John Ogilby, a writer, was a branch of the ancient family of Ogilby or Ogilvie.[54] There were Oglethorpes of Oglethorpe from 5 Edward IV. The parish of Oglethorpe is often shown under that of Bramham, Yorkshire.[55] The name Oglestrop occurs as one of the freemen of York in 1579.[56]

The fact that such names exist as Ogelby, Oglesby, Oglethorpe, Ogellthorpe shows that in Danish times—these Danes being the decendants of the Jutes—*circa* 800 to 1050, there were persons living called Ogle or its equivalent, for the terminations—by and thorpe—are Danish, and the compound names mean, respectively, the residence of Ogle and the village of Ogle.[57] Oglethorpe still retains its name in Yorkshire.

It is thus probable that the name Ogle or its equivalent or near equivalent in sound was Gotho-Scandinavian, this race, as has been seen, extending into Jutland. It is possible that the Jutes named Inishmore after this name, but there is not sufficient proof of this, only two or three inferences supporting this idea; but the fact remains that the places in ancient Northumbria which appear to have had, in the fourth and fifth centuries, more in common with the Jutes than any other foreign race, until the coming of the Angles, seem to point to a Jutish origin. And the fact that in Sweden in the year *circa* 700 an equivalent personal or descendible name or appendage is found, and that later it appears to have been also a Danish personal name, and as such gave the name to certain places in England, lends strength to the idea that it may have been a Jutish personal name in the fifth century, and taken to England then. If it had been an Anglian or Saxon

[53] *Laing Charters, Historians of Scotland, Chronicle of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 467-8.

[54] Atkin's *Biography*. [55] Harl. MS. No. 1394, f. 228. [56] Surt. Soc. publ., 99.

[57] See above, *Notes and Queries*, 7th series, vol. ii. p. 211, quoting Lower's *Patronymica Britannica*.

name we should have expected to have found it in the places settled in by those tribes, rather than in the Jutish settlements which, according to Mr. Haigh,[58] had a great deal to say to Northumbria before the sixth century, Northumbria being taken to include its ancient boundaries between the Humber and the Forth. To set against this there is a possibility of some of the place-names in Scotland given above having a Gaelic origin;[59] however, some authors have stated that the Scotch are of Scandinavian origin, in which case this would be additional proof, seeing that Og and Hog are common to both languages.

P.S.—With regard to the family of Ogell, who it has been stated were hereditary judges in Bohuslän in the eighth century, the writer endeavoured to obtain further information through Dr. Landstedt, who being at the time unable to do so referred to Mr. W. Berg at Gothenburg, a specialist in the history of Bohuslän, but he knew nothing of the family of Ogell nor of the river of that name, which, however, still exists but not in Bohuslän. He suggested instead the name 'Uggla,' which is very like a compound between Ogla and Ulgel, forms of the name, for a Humphrey de Ulgel was a witness to a grant of Walter fitz William, baron of Whalton.

Dr. Landstedt is making further enquiries.

[58] Mr. Haigh, following certain manuscripts, often uses the term Angle, but he says that the race which occupied Kent was probably the Jutes. *Conq. of Britain by the Saxons*, p. 52.

[59] See *Notes and Queries*, 7th series, vol. ii. p. 211.

VI.—LOCAL MUNIMENTS.

By Richard Welford, V.P.

(Read on the 24th of April, 1901.)

Among the most useful, if not the most attractive, of the various contributions to the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, are the papers which appear in our earlier volumes under the denomination of 'Local Muniments.' They were admirably prepared by the expert hand of a past master in documentary investigation—that of our former secretary, the late Mr. Longstaffe.

Local muniments, consisting for the most part of abstracts of leases, conveyances, wills, etc., form a happy hunting ground for either the historian or the biographer. They disclose to him many a hidden link which had eluded research, and solve many a knotty point that had baffled inquiry. By their aid he is able to locate forgotten habitations and to re-edify vanished homesteads; to unravel tangled skeins of family history and to amend faulty or corrupt genealogy. Occasionally through the mist of crumbling parchment and the haze of fading caligraphy he obtains glimpses of obsolete manners and customs, the vicissitudes of mercantile and social life, family prosperity and adversity, individual success and failure.

It seemed desirable that local sources so fruitful in antiquarian knowledge should be further explored. Unfortunately, ancient deeds relating to the devolution of property have not usually been regarded with that respect and veneration which age in other directions is supposed to inspire. Only one adjective could be applied to them. 'Musty' was the word, with 'fusty' as a rhythmical analogue. Their destination was generally ignoble. A bookbinder might have them to stiffen his 'backs'; a tailor might use them—in strips—to encompass the girths of portly citizens; a cook might employ them to protect jams and pickles; in the last resort there was the glue-maker. But as materials for history—Rubbish!

Happily for us, and for those who follow us, a better appreciation of local muniments and a clearer perception of their historical value have set in. Dealers in old books have discovered that there's money in old deeds. 'Rubbish' now spells 'treasure'; 'musty' means 'well preserved'; and 'fusty' is 'fine condition.'

Through the generosity of one of our vice-presidents, Mr. F. W. Dendy, the courtesy of Captain Carr-Ellison, and the kindness of other friends, I have been able to form a considerable collection of such documents, either in the original parchment or in carefully prepared copies. Fortunately, too, I have acquired a most interesting series of abstracts made by the late George Bouchier Richardson. Mr. Richardson was one of the earliest of our members to appreciate these forms of historical record, and to endeavour to preserve them from their accustomed fate. A paper on Westmoreland Place, in our *Archaeologia*, volume xix., illustrates his skill in deciphering ancient handwriting and his dexterity in copying seals and signatures.

From Mr. Richardson's abstracts the items which follow have been selected. They comprise most interesting records of the transmission of property in the Close, the Side, Sandgate, Westgate Street, Middle Street, St. Andrew's Churchyard, the High Bridge, and a famous Quayside Chare. They introduce to us mayors, bailiffs, sheriffs, aldermen, merchant adventurers, and many most prominent citizens of Newcastle.[1] Thomas Horsley, founder of the Free Grammar School, about whose life little is known, and the date of whose death is unrecorded, re-appears; the great families of Anderson and Ellison loom out large: while in dimmer outline those of Clavering and Carr, Bowes and Gray, Shafto and Shadforth, are shadowed forth. From one set of documents we learn the curious details of a long family dispute; in others we read of marriages and the dowers of brides, of wills and bequests, of heirlooms and household stuff, of town gardens and meadows, and of 'lads' witnessing acts of livery and seisin, on the same principle, no doubt, that boys went to boundary beatings and were 'bumped' for remembrance.

[1] Most of the persons named in these abstracts may be traced in the indexes to the histories of Brand, Surtees and Hodgson, Dendy's *Merchant Adventurers' Books*, the *Chronological History of Newcastle and Gateshead*, and the publications of the Society.

HOUSE IN THE CLOSE, NEWCASTLE.[2]

1412. Dec. 12.—Deed Poll Grant from John de Horton, son and heir of John de Horton, formerly burgess of Newcastle, deceased, to John Barkar of Newcastle, merchant, of a messuage in 'le close,' boundered by the mote of the Castle, E., 'le schare' called the Close, S., the foss and gate of the Castle commonly called 'le postern,' [illegible] the tenement in which Andrew de Bulkham resided so long as he lived 'inter hoga. castr.,' N., a tenement [illegible] John Barkar aforesaid formerly feoffed and given by said John de Horton on S. (?) and extending from the stayre to the tenement formerly Gilbert Flemyngs. Witnesses: Thomas de Pruddowe, Robert Turnbull, William Scrivan, John de Pouncher (Ponnfret?) and Walter Scales. [Dated at Newcastle.]

1520. June 16.—Indre of grant of houses from John Horsley, chaplain of the chantry and altar of the Blessed Marie the Virgin in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr upon the Bridge, Newcastle, to Robert Bartrem of Newcastle, merchant. With consent of Thomas Horsley, maior of Newcastle, John Horsley conveys to Bartrem a house in 'le Closse' between the house of Wm. Carr, W., the common steps leading up to the high castle and the stable and chamber built above it belonging to Thos. Man, chaplain of the chantry and altar of St. Ann in said chapel, E., and extending from the mote of the high castle, N., to the waste land anciently called 'Riddyngs Lands,' S., rendering to said chantry 4/- yearly.

1531-2. Feb. 5.—Indre of grant from Christopher Thirkilde, sen., of Estethorpe, county Ebor., armiger (Johanna, his wife, was the daughter and heir of John Carlill, armiger, deceased, and Elianore, his wife, was daughter and heir of Lawrence Actonne), and Christopher Threlkilde, jun., son and heir apparent of said Christopher, sen., to Thomas Horsley of Newcastle, merchant, of a house in 'le Clooce,' between the tenement of Will. Carr, W., and 'le Longe Stare,' E., and extending from the King's way, S., unto a tenement belonging to the chantry of St. Mary in St. Thomas's Chapel, and now in tenure of Elisabeth Bartrame, widow, N. Executed by 'Crsto. Thelkyld, senior, and xporfor Therlkeld.' [Four seals appended (the fourth lost). First, a stag trotting; second, a bull's head; third, a fleur-de-lis.]

1543. May 31.—Indre of grant from Thomas Horseley[3] of Newcastle,

[2] Described by Mr. G. B. Richardson as a house on the west side of the Castle Stairs.

[3] The last record in local history of Thomas Horsley, Alderman, Sheriff, and Mayor, and founder of the Royal Free Grammar School of Newcastle, occurs in the Muster Roll of 1539. His tombstone in St. Nicholas's church (if it still exists) contains no readable date of his death, but, as copied in Richardson's *Armorial Bearings*, has the figures 1531 at the top:—

1531.—'Pray for ye soule of . . . . . horsleyie march. adventurer, somtime maior of this town & . . . . . his wife . . . . . '

Presuming that the Thomas Horsley who signed the grant to Henry Anderson was the founder of the Grammar School, it follows that he must have been living in 1543; in that case the date at the top of the tombstone may have been 1551, not 1531.

merchant, to Henry Andreson[4] of Newcastle, sen., merchant, of waste stone walls lying in the Close between the tenement of Will. Carr, merchant, W., the steps leading to the Castle, 'vocat. vulgariter le Long Stayer,' E., and extending from the King's way, S., to a tenement belonging to the chantry of St. Mary in St. Thomas's chapel, N., which was granted to said Horseley by the Threlkeld family. (Signed) Thomas Horslye. Endorsed: 'A howes yn ye cloese wch befor was a waste.' Probably a ruined house.

1550. August 31.—Deed Poll, etc., from Roger Thorneton of Wytton sup. aquam, esq., and Cuthbert Musgrave of Barwick-upon-Tweed, to Henry Anderson of Newcastle, merchant, of all that messuage and piece of land thereto belonging in the Close, Newcastle, between messuage of Will. Carre, merchant, W., the steps to the Castle, E., the King's street, S., and the land of St. Mary's Chantry aforesaid, N. Said Thorneton and Musgrave appoint George Davell and Oswold Chapman, merchants, their attorneys.

1571. June 7.—Deed Poll by which for £10, Elizabeth Anderson, widow of Francis Anderson of Newcastle, merchant, releases to Henry Anderson of Newcastle, merchant, natural brother to said Francis, all said Elizabeth's right to the estate and effects of her late husband. (Signed) Elizabeth Anderson, her x mark. Witnesses: Thomas Richardson, ffrauncys Hall, Robert Farbreke, his x mark.

1585. December 9.—Feoffment with livery and seisin indorsed of premises at Elswick, a close called Little Carling Croft, and premises in the Close, from Henry Anderson, senior, Newcastle, merchant, to Robert Mitforde and George Still of Newcastle, merchants. All that field at Elstwick and the tenement now in occupation of John Robson outside the Westgate, lying between a tenement of said Robson, W., a tenement of William Turnbull, E., and extending from the King's highway before, to a close belonging to William Swynborne, gentleman, S. Also the close called Little Carling Croft, in tenure of said Henry Anderson, abutting upon the walls of Newcastle, N. and E., the Greater Carling Croft, S., and the water called Arick bourne, W. Also all that cellar and loftes in the Close, in occupation of Roger Nicholson, merchant, lying between cellar and loftes in occupation of Nicholas Punder, merchant, W., the steps called 'the stayres' leading to the Castle, E., and extending from the Close, S., to the great waste, N. Also that waste or vacant land in occupation of William Spoore, Parcivall Spoor and others, lying between said two cellars and four lofts, S., the castle mote, N., and extending from the steps aforesaid, E., to the house now in occupation of Mally Heron, widow, W. To said Mitford and Still for use of said Henry Anderson during natural life, and after his death to Bartram Anderson, son of Henry, his heirs, etc. (Signed) Harry Anderson ye

[4] Henry Anderson, founder of the great local family of that name, dying in 1559, during the mayoralty of Oswald Chapman, his son-in-law, bequeathed to two of his sons—Francis and Henry—equal moieties in 'the waste that I had of Cuthbert Musgrave and Nicholas Thornton' (2 Surt. Soc. Publ. p. 165). It is curious that the will and the deed do not agree in the Christian name of Roger Thornton's descendant at Witton-upon-the-Water. The signature to the deed is 'Roger' and the seal is a monogram—'R.T.' Francis Anderson, it is supposed, was the hero of the local version of the 'Fish and Ring' story.

eldere. Witnesses: Thomas Dobson, his x mark, Edmonde Carstile, William Barkas, John Craster, Clement Anderson, Anthony Dobson, Johis Jackson, Martin Turpin, scrivener and notary public.

Livery and seisin granted January 17, 1585-6 in presence of James Claveringe, John Hedworth, Henry Anderson, Gawyn Hyndmers his x mark, John Robson, boocher, Thomas Stoka, skynner, Jeffery Dugles, yeoman, James Fletcher, yeoman, Lawrence Brown, tailor, George Kell and Thomas Grene, 'laddes,' Martin Turpin, scrivener and notary public.

1601. May 30.—Deed Poll from Henry Anderson of Newcastle, esq., to 'my coozin' Bartram Anderson of Newcastle, merchant, releasing to him all said Henry's right, title, etc., to said premises in the Close now in occupation of said Bartram. (Signed) H. Anderson. Witnesses: ffranc Andersonne, B. Pattisonne, Ro. Batesonne.

1624. April 13.—Indre of bargain and sale whereby Henry Anderson of Newcastle, merchant, granted to Henry Bowes of Newcastle, merchant, the premises in the Close, now in the tenure of Gawyn Adon, merchant, lying between 'the common staiors' leading up to the castle, E., cellars and lofts in possession of Mr. Henry Maddison, now maior, W., The Close, S., and the Castle Mote, N. (Signed) Hen. Anderson. Witnesses: Hen. Bowes, sen., Ralph Graye, Tho. Arrowsmythe, Henry Shadforth, Henry Bowes, son of Rob. Bowes, ffrancis Birckbecke.

'Mem. That Gawin Adon, within named, who is to enjoy the tenements within mentioned by lease from within named Hen. Anderson until the feast of Pur. B. M., 1625, did atturn and consent to the grant by giving him twopence in name of atturnament in presence of Hen. Bowes, sen., Ralph Graye, Thos. Arrowsmyth, Hen. Shadforth.'

Same date.—Deed Poll of feoffment of house in the Close. Same to same. Livery and seisin granted April 19, 1624, in presence of the above and Martyne White, Thomas Dennis, John Lodge, Gawin Adon.

Same date.—Bond in £600 for performance of covenants—Anderson to Bowes.

Same date.—Deed Poll from Anderson to Bowes assigning 'all that little garden, or garden plot now paled in and being in the possession of Gawyn Adon, merchant, scituate behinde the burgage or tenement in the Close,[5] now also in the tenure of him the saide Gawyn, and also one scape lead and one brew lead, scituate and being within the burgage.' (Signed) Hen. Anderson.

1627. Hilary Term.—Indres of fine between Henry Bowes, plaintiff, and Henry Anderson, deforciant, of premises in the Close, Newcastle.

1653. September 16.—Indre of feoffment with livery and seisin from Henry Bowes, jun., of Newcastle, merchant adventurer, to Thomas Shadforth of

[5] Gawin Aydon was a prominent citizen whose name frequently occurs in the annals of his period. Here we find him enjoying a little garden, paled in, behind his house in the Close. Sixty odd years earlier there was a garden in the Broad Chare, extending 'unto a rivulet called Pandon Burn, backward to the east.' A glance at Corbridge's Map of Newcastle shows that even in 1724 nearly one half the town within the walls was open space, broken up by living fences into orchards and gardens, lawns and grass-plots.

Epleton, county Durham, esq., stating that a marriage was about to be had between said Henry, and Mary, daughter of Anthony Shadforth, late of Tunstall, county Durham, gentleman, deceased, and in consideration thereof, and of £500 to be paid by Mary Shadforth, widow, mother of Mary, as a marriage portion, Henry granted to Thomas the messuage in the Close, boundering on the common staires to the Castle, E., certain sellers and lofts in the occupation of Wm. Blackett, merchant, W. [N. and S. as before] for use of Mary during life and after death to said Henry, etc. (Signed) Henry Bowes.

Same date.—Livery and seisin granted by Bowes to Shadforth in presence of Edwd. Lee, Ra. Bowes, George Shadforth, Phineas Allen, John Shadforth, Richard Walker.

Mem. The within written deed I do hereby order and agree shall be cancelled. Witness my hand Mary Bowes. Witnesses: Christ. Dent, Josa Bowes.

1694. October 3 and 4.—Indres of lease and release of premises in the Close (by way of marriage settlement) between John Bowes, of Newcastle, merchant, first part, and Hannah, daughter of Michael Matthew,[6] of Cleadon, county Durham, gentleman, and Richd. Wake, of Newcastle, gentleman, second part, whereby Bowes covenants to marry Hannah, before 11th November ensuing, in consideration of which he grants to her and Richard all that tenement in the Close, now in occupation of said Bowes (boundered by the Castle stairs on the E., and the rest as before), to use of Bowes until the marriage, and afterwards to Bowes and Hannah, in lieu of dower, and after their death to the heirs, etc. (Signed) John Bowes, Hannah Matthew. Witnesses: Barbara Wake, Mary Taylor. Seal of Bowes, the ordinary arms; crest, a sheaf of arrows.

HOUSE IN THE SIDE, NEWCASTLE.[7]

1666. April 19.—Deed of Conveyance between Robt. Shafto, jun., of Benwell, and Mary, his wife, first part, and James Shafto, of Newcastle, merchant, other part. Whereas Robt. Shafto, sen., of Newcastle, alderman, by deed indented, etc., dated December 13, 1650, made between said Robert, sen., and Jane, his wife, and James Clavering, of Axwell Houses, county Durham, esq., first part, and Christopher Hall, of Newsham, county Durham, esq., Lancelot Fenwick, of Kenton, and Anne, daughter of said Christopher Hall, second part, granted, etc., to said Hall and Fenwick all that messuage in the Side, Newcastle, in which he now dwelleth to use of said Robt. and Jane Shafto for their lives, and after their decease to Robt. Shafto, jun., son and heir of said Robert, the elder. Now said Robert, jun., and Mary for £200, sell unto said James Shafto all their right, title,

[6] Michael Mathew's altar tomb in Whitburn is described in the *Proceedings* of the Society, vol. iv. p. 171.

[7] Mr. Richardson describes this property as 'a house at the foot of the Side, late in the occupation of Fenwick Hunnam, cheesemonger, and before that of William and John Marley, cheesemongers, who were the predecessors in business and masters of said Fenwick Hunnam.'

etc., in the burgage aforesaid, standing in the Flesher Raw,[8] bounded by messuage of Miles Man, merchant, S., messuage of Benj. Ellison, merchant, N., the street, W., and a garden or platt of ground belonging to said Benj. Ellison, E. (Signed) Rob. Shafto, Mary Shafto; witnesses: Tho. Wake, James Holmes. [In the receipt for the money Robt. Shafto calls James Shafto his brother.]

1667. May 20.—Conveyance from James Shafto, of Newcastle, merchant, to Lyonell Blagdon, of Newcastle, merchant, for £334, all that messuage, etc., boundered as above. (Signed) James Shafto. Witnesses: William Hutchinson, Christopher Raine, Benezer Durant, and Anthony Norman, scrivener.

1667. September 11.—Lease and release from James Shafto to L. Blagdon with livery and seisin indorsed, stating that on September 8, 1671, Jane Shafto, widow, tenant for life, 'did attorne tenant to Lyonell Blagdon.' Signed and sealed in presence of Joseph Younge, Christopher Raine, Benezer Durant, and Anthony Norman, scr. Livery etc., in presence of the same and Francis Potts and Ralph fforster.

[Boundered as before, but Miles Man's house is in the occupation of Edward Freeman, merchant.]

19 and 20 Chas. II. Hilary Term.—Exemplification of fine; James Holmes, plaintiff, and Robert Shafto and Mary, his wife, deforciants.

1668-9. Jan. 24.—Declaration from James Holmes, of Newcastle, hostman, that the fine of the house granted to him is in trust for James Shafto, his heirs, etc., for ever.

1671. Sep. 18.—'Mrs. Jane Shafto, her deed of saile of heireloomes and household stuffe to Mr. Lyonell Blagdon.' Jane, widow of Robt. Shafto, late of Newcastle, merchant and alderman, for £10 conveys to Blagdon the goods, etc., in the annexed schedule, now in her dwelling house, etc.

In the Hall: 2 long tables, an iron chimney and a chimney backe of iron, 1 cubbord att the chimney end, and a closett with severall shelves adioyneing on the same, 1 closett next the fore doore with a counter table adioyneing to the window and six shelves, 1 wainescott chimney peece and brettesh round about the hall, 2 long settles in the same with dowers, lockes, keyes and sneckes, and two courtaine rodds in the window.

In the Kitching: 1 iron chimney, 1 jack, 1 cubbord and crwells (?), 1 table, 1 dresser, 1 racking crooke and an iron rannell balke; severall shelves and window breads.

In the Brewhouse: 1 brewlead, 1 steepe and steepe lead, 1 maskin tubb and cover, 1 stone trough and guyle fatt.

In the Buttery: 3 cubbords, 1 table, 1 chist and certaine shelves, with three little cubbords in the wall going into the buttery with dowers.

In the Celler: 3 paire of gantrees and trellus, with 2 loose wood steppes.

[8] The thoroughfare known to us as the Side anciently bore three separate names. From the top to the Sandhill (on the south or right hand in descending) it was the Side only; but the opposite buildings, from the top to what is now Dean Street, formed Cordiner or Cordwainer Raw, and from thence to the Cale Cross, facing the entrance to the Sandhill, the name was Flesher Raw. See Bourne's *History of Newcastle*, p. 122.

In the Parler : 1 iron chimney, 1 table, 1 cubbord and a closett with shelves, with the room bretteshed round about.

In the Pantry : Certaine shelves and tables with cubbords round about.

In the Chamber above the Parler : 1 press within the brettish, 2 cubbords above the same, 2 closetts with dowers and shelves, 1 old standing bedsteed, 1 iron chimney, bretteshed round about.

In the Great Chamber above the Hall : 1 iron chimney, 2 long tables, 2 closetts, and shelves to them, 1 chimney peice and brettish round about.

In the Old Chamber : 1 table, 2 presses and a closett, 1 old standing bedsteed with a foot pan of oake and a paire of iron barrs.

In Mr. Bartrams Chamber : 1 iron chimney, 1 presse and two closetts with seu'all shelves.

In Mr. Markes Chamber : 1 iron chimney, 1 loose presse of wainescott, 2 closetts with shelves and brettesh, and a p'tcion of dayles entering into the chamber.

In Mr. James Chamber : 1 standing bedsteed, 1 closett and a paire of iron barrs.

In the two Stables : 2 bayes with rackes and mangers and diuisions in them.

All doores, lockes, keyes, sneckes and boults to eu'y room belonging.

1671. Sep. 20.—Release to Blagdon of Jane Shafto's dower and widow right in the house in the Syde, boundered by house of Benj. Ellison, merchant, N., and house in occupation of Thomas Powell, S. (Signed) Jane Shafto.

28 Chas. II. May 1.—Deed to lead the uses of a fyne of a house in the Syde, Newcastle, from Thomas Mathews of Newcastle, gentleman, to Lyonel Blaigdon. (Signed) Thos. Mathews, Lyonell Blagdon.

[The house is described as in possession of John Pringle and the exemplification of fine is dated Trinity term, 28 Chas. II.]

1678. April 19.—Feoffment, with livery and seisin indorsed from said Lyonell Blagdon to Mary Oley, of Newcastle, widow, of all the aforesaid house now in possession, etc., of John Pringle, gentleman, or his under tenants, boundering upon a messuage now in possession of Issabell Ellison, widow, N. and E., a tenement now in possession of Francis Batty, S. and the Flesher Rawe, W. Livery and seisin in presence of Michael Marshall, Ralph Forster, John Wouldhave, Robert Bower, Thomas Mathews.

30 Chas. II., Easter Term.—Indres of fine of a messuage in Newcastle ; Mary Oley, plaintiff, Lionell Blaigdon and Ann, his wife, deforciants.

1679. October 1.—Feoffment, with livery and seisin from Mary Oley to Joseph Ellison, of a house in the Syde, with a receipt for purchase money and a bond for performance of covenants inclosed, in consideration of £490.

[Joseph Ellison binds himself to pay to Barbary Nicholls of Newcastle, £400. Seal used by Oley, a fess between three eagles' heads, a mullet for difference. Crest, a lion statant.]

1679. October 5.—Mortgage lease for 99 years of a house in the Syde, from Joseph Ellison, merchant, and Mary Oley, widow, both of Newcastle ; house described as in possession of Mary Oley, and boundered by those of Isabell Ellison and Francis Battee. (Signed) Joseph Ellison. Witnesses : Robt. Roddam, Francis Nicholls, La. Allgood, John Douglas.

Same date.—Another part of said mortgage lease for securing certain sums of money, and bond. Witnesses: Sam. Ellison, Henry Swinbourne, Edw. Rymer, La. Allgood.

Same date.—Articles between Joseph Ellison and Mary Oley for payment of several sums of money therein named.

1684. May 5.—Receipt by John Gray of Newcastle, merchant, on account of £200 from Joseph Ellison, upon a bond dated October 5, 1679, wherein said Ellison stood bound and indebted unto Mary Oley, now Mary Gray, wife of John Gray, merchant, above named. (Signed) Jno. Gray. Seal: Arms of the Greys of Howick, with the scaling ladder for a crest. The bordure appears to be or.

1685-6. January 21.—Will of Joseph Ellison. A house and yard in the Close, Newcastle, boundering on a house belonging to Gilbert Dobson, E., and on a house of Mr. Henry Maddison, W., to wife Elizabeth for life, then to heirs male, failing which, to heirs female, and failing such, to right heirs. 'My house at the foot of the Syde, wherein I now dwell,' to wife Elizabeth for life, then to heirs male, failing which, to heirs female, and failing such to heirs of wife. To daughter Barbara, out of real and personal estate, £300, or so much more or less as said wife shall think fit. Wife Elizabeth and Robert Ellison to be executors.

1695. October 10.—Agreement between Isabel Ellison and Elizabeth Ellison. Whereas lately 'a difference hapned' between Isabel Ellison of Newcastle, widow, and Elizabeth Ellison of same place, widow, about a certain gutter or watercourse belonging to the house of said Elizabeth, situate in a street called the Cross, Newcastle, and it was mutually agreed between them at their equal cost and charges to make a leaden gutter upon the wall of the house of Elizabeth, and a brick wall, called a mantle wall, in the ground of Isabell to support the garden or ground of Isabell from 'annoying or dampnifying the said gutter,' and the work had been done. Elizabeth to keep the gutter in repair, and Isabel the wall. (Signed) Isabell Ellison. Witnesses: William Williamsone, William Atkinson.

1710. August 15.—Deed by which Mrs. Elizabeth Ellison, widow and executor of Joseph Ellison, late of Newcastle, merchant, deceased, charged his estate in respect of the fortune of Barbara, her daughter, named in the will of said Joseph, deceased. Whereas the personal estate of said Joseph was wholly spent in the discharge of his debts, and otherwise, and whereas said Barbara, now wife of Wolstan Paston, gentleman, 'hath behaved her selfe dutifully and well, deserving of her father's memory and her mother's benevolence, and has married with her mother's consent,' and she (the mother) being willing to advance her daughter's estate 'according to her meritt, as farr as the circumstances of the testator's estate may allow,' orders that the sum to be paid to Barbara be £600, i.e., £300 according to the will, and £300 out of the estate rendered liable to the same levy by said will. (Signed) Elizabeth Ellison.

1712. August 7.—'Whereas by Indre dated 5 August, 1712, Margarett Ord hath assigned to me a judgment in the Court of Comon Pleas att Westm' att her suite against George Ogle of Harnham for £60 debt besides costs of suite. I doe hereby declare the same is upon the trusts following, that is to say, for securing the payment of £10 due to me per bond dated 5 August, and for securing the payment of £20 to Parsivall Clenell for which I am bound for said Geo. Ogle

to him by bond bearing date, 9 September, 1713. Witness my hand, W. Paston.'

1716. April 6 and 7.—Indres of lease and release from Francis Ellison of Newcastle, merchant, only son of Joseph Ellison of Newcastle, merchant, deceased. After reciting foregoing matters, and that Francis Ellison's mother received the rents of the house in the Syde for 26 years (let at £41 per annum) and left it so ruinous that he had expended £20 in its repair, and £20 more would be required to be expended before it could be made tenantable, &c., that all deeds were in her hands at her death, etc., releases all that messuage and malting and shopps, etc., in the Flesher Raw, foot of the Syde, now in possession of John Spense, maltman, John Armstrong, and others, boundering upon a messuage belonging to John Rogers, esq., and others, N. and E., a messuage late belonging to Robert Eden, esq., deceased, S., and Flesher Raw, or Foot of the Syde, W., with all houses, outhouses, and brewing vessels, maltings, malt-lofts, kiln steeps, yards, etc. (Signed) Frans. Ellison. Witnesses: Lancel. Appleby, John Punshon, Geo. Midford.

[A Chancery Decree, pursuant to which the above conveyance was executed, is attached. It is of great length, but the substance is as follows :—

Whereas on or about April 4, 1712, Wolstan Paston, gentleman, and Barbara, his wife, exhibited their bill of complaint against Francis Ellison, defendant, setting forth that Joseph Ellison, being seised in his demesne as of fee of and in several messuages, lands, etc., in Newcastle, on or about January 21, 1685, made his last will, and shortly after died, leaving issue Francis, the defendant, and Barbara, the complainant, and after his death his widow proved the will, the executor refusing to meddle therein ; and testator's personal effects proving not sufficient to pay his debts, Barbara's portion, or any part thereof, could not be paid thereout; and that said Barbara, on June 2, 1709, married Wolstan Paston, shortly after which said Elizabeth charged her husband's estate with £600 [see *ante*] and on January 21, 1711, died, whereupon defendant, Francis, as heir at law, entered upon the premises in Newcastle, and refused to pay same.

Defendant, in his answer, said he did not believe his father had power to devise and charge the house, etc., for that in answer to a bill brought in this court by Henry Rawling, plaintiff, against Elizabeth and Barbara and the present defendant, defendants, they said that Robert Ellison,[9] father of Joseph, being seised in fee simple of a messuage in the Close did in 1672, in consideration of natural love and affection convey the messuage to use of Robert for life, and after death to use of Joseph and his heirs, with remainders to other children of Robert ; and that in consideration of £600, Elizabeth's marriage portion, which was really paid, it was agreed by indenture (January 11th, 29 Chas. II.),

[9] Robert Ellison, representative of Newcastle in the Long Parliament, whose pardon by Charles II. appears at p. 23 of our *Proceedings*, vol. x. Joseph Ellison, who figures so disastrously in these deeds, was one of his sons, and in the Ellison pedigrees is described as ancestor of the Ellisons of Lintz, co. Durham. Surtees enters him as the fourth son, baptized 13 October, 1646. In the *Carr Book* he appears as eleventh child, born 1647, ob. January 21, 1680, buried at St. Nicholas's, Newcastle. Dendy, *Merch. Adv. Books*, shows that he was aged 22 in January, 1669-70, and that he died about 1686, which agrees with his will (above quoted) dated January 21, 1685-6. Elizabeth, his widow, was buried at St. Nicholas's, January 23rd, 1711-12.

between Robert Ellison, the elder, Samuel, Joseph, and Robert jun., John and Nathaniel, five of the sons of Robert sen., of the one part, and Barbara Niccols, mother of said Elizabeth, of the other part, that Robert and his five sons should levy a fine to Barbara (*inter alia*) of the messuage in the Close, to use of Robert, sen., for two years, and afterwards of Joseph and Elizabeth for life and longest liver, in lieu of jointure, and after to the heirs of Joseph and Elizabeth, with remainders over, which fine was levied etc.; and further, that Samuel Cook, uncle of Elizabeth, being seised, etc., of a messuage in Spicer Lane, by will dated November 20, 23 Chas. II., devised same to Elizabeth, her heirs, etc.; and that one Mary Oley, in consideration of £490, conveyed to said Joseph a messuage in Flesher Rawe, to which deed Elizabeth referred, and denied that Joseph was seised in fee of the houses in the will mentioned, or of any other lands than what were therein before mentioned, and confessed that upon her husband's decease she received the rents, &c., worth £97 per annum. Defendant further answered that his mother proved the will and received the rents of the messuage in the Close, being for the most part £60 per annum, till the same became ruinous and would cost £300 to repair; that during her widowhood she neglected him and gave him very ordinary education, and meeting with hardships he served at sea seven years before her death, and had but small allowance from her during such service; that he knew not that his father's personal estate fell short of paying his debts, but if it did was advised said Elizabeth ought to have lessened, and not advanced the £300, etc., etc., she knowing that the house and yard in the Close were settled by the marriage settlement, and his father could not charge same by will, and if his personal estate fell short he could only charge the house at the foot of the Syde, etc., of which house his mother had received the rent for 26 years without accounting to him, and left same so ruinous that it cost £20 and would cost £20 more to repair, etc.; and that his mother, by her will, devised to complainant Barbara the house in Spicer Lane, worth £150, and all her goods and chattels, and that her personal estate was worth £300. If the court judged him chargeable with £300 in respect of house in the Syde, complainants ought first to account for the profits thereof seised by their mother, and that same should be a charge upon the mother's personal estate, and that out of same they ought to satisfy him for waste committed by the mother, etc. And the cause thus standing ripe for hearing, Monday, February 1, 1713, was appointed by the court, upon which day said cause was heard and debated in the presence of counsel learned on both sides, etc.

The Court decided that Joseph having in his will given Elizabeth power to increase or diminish Barbara's portion, and she having doubled it, the £600 ought to stand a charge upon the real and personal estate of said testator, with interest at 5 per cent. from the time of Elizabeth's death, and costs of the suit, and if same were not paid within 12 months the house at the foot of the Side to be sold to the best purchaser. W. Rogers, one of the Masters in Chancery, having certified that the interest from January 21, 1711, the date of said Elizabeth's death, to February 1, 1714, was £90 16s. 5d., and taxed the costs (£110 2s. 1d.) at £65, the Court ordered defendant to pay the plaintiffs the total sum of £755 16s. 5d. Default being made in payment Master Rogers reported, June 1, 1715, that Mr. Wolstan Paston had bidden £400 for said house and no

one else appeared to bid; whereupon the Court decreed that Paston should retain the £400 as part of the £755 16s. 5d., and conveyance was made, as appears *ante*, April 6 and 7, 1716.]

1754. October 26.—Will of William Paston, of Morpeth, gentleman. To brother-in-law, Robert Lisle, second son of John Lisle, of Morpeth, esq., and to sister-in-law, Mary Lisle, daughter of said John Lisle, all messuages, etc., and all goods, chattels, rights, credits, and personal estate, etc., share and share alike. In case Robert die before age of 21, or his elder brother, John, die without issue so that he becomes entitled to his father's estate, Mary to have said real and personal estate at age of 21 or marriage. In case Mary die before 21 or marriage, said Robert, his heirs, etc., to have the estate, chargeable with £100, bequeathed to my loving friend, Ralph Morison, of New Broad Street Buildings, London, esq. In case both Robert and Mary die before 21, or before Mary marry, said estate to loving cousins, Mary, Albert, and to Elizabeth, Ann, Jane, and Alice Lake, daughters of uncle and aunt Lake, Newcastle, share and share alike. Rents and profits to be laid out in the education of said Robert and Mary Lisle; loving mother Margaret Lisle to be executrix, and enjoy the rents and profits during her life. (Signed) William Paston. Witnesses: William Bates, Ra. Lisle, Ro. Lisle. Administration granted in the Prerogative Court, Canterbury, to Margaret Lisle, the mother.

1785. Dec. 16.—Indre of covenants between William Coulson, of Newcastle, merchant, and Mary, his wife (said Mary being one of the devisees named in the will of William Paston, only son and heir of Wolstan Paston), of the one part, and Robt. Lisle, of Newcastle, esq., of the other part.

1786. January 31.—Indre of release of four parts: (1) said Robert Lisle, (2) said William Coulson, (3) John Roberts, of Newcastle, gentleman, and Jane, his wife, (4) Jasper Harrison, of Newcastle, gentleman, being a mortgage from William Coulson to John and Jane Roberts, for securing £1,000 and interest.

1789. January 9.—Will (proved at York) of William Coulson, of Newcastle, merchant. Debts, funeral expenses, etc., to be paid out of personal estate. To brother-in-law, Robert Lisle, of Newcastle, esq., all messuages, etc., goods, chattels, mortgages, bonds, debts, ship, stock-in-trade, etc., except otherwise bequeathed, upon trust to sell such part, or carry on such part of trade and shipping as he shall think proper. Confirms marriage settlement of £200 a year upon Mary, his loving wife, for life, and if said settlement prove defective, to charge same upon personal estate; said £200 and legacies to be in bar of dower, thirds, etc. To said wife £100 and all her clothes, jewels, etc.; and all wine and liquors, household goods, etc., in the house during widowhood, and if she marry said last-mentioned goods to vest in the trustee. To eldest son, John Blenkinsopp, £100 only, 'my late brother, John Blenkinsopp Coulson, of Jesmond, esq., having sufficiently provided for him,' also all money owing by said brother, except sums due under settlement of late father and mother, or payable out of their estate, etc., and such sums as appear due from said brother 'in my large leger, kept for my said trades and dealings;' said trustee to invest proceeds in some public bank, fund, stock, or government security, or purchase land, etc.; dividends, rents, &c., to be applied to maintenance and education of daughters, Jane and Margaret, sons, Robert Lisle and William, and such other children as

may be born hereafter, share and share alike. [Various provisions for minorities, death, and marriage follow.] Said trustee to be guardian of the eldest son, and said wife and trustee guardians of the other children during minority; trustee to be paid all expenses, etc.; special bequest to him of £100. (Signed) William Coulson. Witnesses: John Anderson, servant to Mr. Coulson, William Wright, apprentice to Mr. Coulson.

By a codicil dated April 14, 1789, testator appointed two other trustees, George Lake, of Long Benton, esq., and George Burdon, of Newcastle, esq., who, with said Robert Lisle and his wife, were to be guardians of the younger children. In case the lands and tenements in Northumberland and elsewhere, left by late brother, John B. Coulson, to eldest son, descend to son Robert Lisle, or son William, as next heir-at-law, the provision made for such son in the will to be divided among the younger children. Confirmed the legacy of £100 to brother-in-law as trustee, and bequeathed £100 each to Lake and Burdon.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCHYARD, NEWCASTLE.[10]

1613. October 30.—Indre between John Richardson of Durham, esq., and Xpofer Skepper of same place, gentleman, first part, and Thomas Lawson of Newcastle, yeoman, and James Chayter of same town, yeoman, second part, whereby Richardson and Skepper granted to Lawson and Chayter a tenement in Darwen Crook, Newcastle, in tenure of John Sadler, of the yearly value of 6s. 8d., parcel of the lands, etc., of the late chantry of the Blessed Mary, founded in the church of St. Andrew, etc., in as ample a manner as Francis Morrice, esq., and Francis Phelips, gentleman, by their indres of bargain and sale dated November 28, 1612, conveyed same to Richardson and Skepper, which said premises the king by letters patent, dated May 19, 1610, to said Morrice and Phelips in fee farm did give and grant, etc., to use of said Lawson and Chayter in fee farm for ever, to be holden of the king, etc., as of his manor of East Greenwich by fealty only in free and common socage, and not by capite or by knights service, paying to the king, etc., 6s. 8d. a year. Executed by Richardson and Skepper, etc.

1613. October 31.—Grant by deed poll from Richardson and Skepper to Lawson and Chayter, to hold to them and their assigns for ever.

1613. November 21.—Deed of covenant indented between Lawson and Chayter by which Lawson is to hold the moiety or halfendeale of said tenement to his own proper use, i.e., the hall-house, with all other the several rooms thereunto belonging on the north side of the common entry of same tenement, and boundering on the churchyard of St. Andrew, and the halfendeale of one little yard, as it is likewise divided between said hall-house and the town wall and boundering upon said churchyard, and one little chamber or upperloft lying over the stairs next without the entry door, at the south side thereof, and one other little corner within the entry, behind the back door as already parted. Chayter to hold the remainder, and the rent of 6s. 8d. to be paid in equal shares. Executed by Lawson and attested.[11]

[10] Described as 'Deeds relating to a piece of ground purchased of Samuel Edwards by the churchwardens of St. Andrew's as an addition to the churchyard.'

[11] A very curious deed of partition by which one family takes half the house and yard, including a loft over the stairs, and a 'little corner, within the entry, behind the back door,' and the other family takes the remainder.

1654-5. January 1.—Will of William Lasson of Newcastle, smith, whereby he gave to his wife Jane, the house he dwelt in.

1666. March 26.—Indre, with livery and seisin indorsed, whereby Jane Lawson, widow, conveys to James Chater of Newcastle, weaver, her share of the house.

1710. December 7.—Indres of lease and release whereby James Chayter of Newcastle, weaver, Isabella, his wife, and William, his son, of Gowden's Hole, Northumberland, weaver, convey to Thomas Edwards of Newcastle, weaver, and Mary, his wife, the house in Darwen Crook, paying 6s. 8d. to the Queen, etc.

1721. July 21 and 22.— Indres of lease and release by which Thomas Edwards of Newcastle, weaver, and Mary, his wife, convey the house to George Rotherforth of Gateshead, gentleman. Declaration that Mary had come into Guildhall of Newcastle, upon oath, etc., to bar dower, etc.

[The deed does not appear to have been enrolled, nor is the mayoral seal attached.]

1721. July 25.—Indre of defeazance between George Rotherforth, first part, Thos. Edwards and Mary his wife, second part, and Wm. Robson of Newcastle, weaver, and Samuel Lyons of Newcastle, weaver, third part, Reciting deed of July 21 and 22, and witnessing that if Thos. and Mary Edwards paid Rotherforth 42s., by 6s. yearly for seven years, Rotherforth should convey to Robson and Lyons the premises before named to use of Thos. and Mary for life, and longer liver of them, with remainder to Samuel Edwards, son of Thos. and Mary. Executed by Rotherforth, Thos. Edwards and wife, and attested.

1729-30. March 5 and 6.—Indre of lease and release, the release being quadripartite—George Rotherforth, first part; Mary Edwards, widow, second part; Wm. Robson and Samuel Lyons, third part, and Samuel Edwards of Newcastle, weaver, fourth part. Reciting (1) deeds dated July, 1721, (2) that the money had been duly paid, and (3) that Thos. Edwards was dead, and witnessing that for considerations therein named said Rotherforth, by direction of said Mary Edwards, conveyed to said Robson and Lyons the messuage, etc., to use of Mary Edwards for life, and after her death to use of Samuel Edwards, her son. Executed by Geo. Rotherforth and Mary Edwards, and attested.

1752. May 18.—Will of Samuel Edwards of Newcastle, weaver, whereby the messuage in Darwen Crook, Newcastle, is bequeathed to Samuel Edwards, his son, (baptized March 25, 1749) the rent, etc., to be received by Ann Edwards, his wife, mother of Samuel, towards Samuel's upbringing, and if he died before age of 21, and had no lawful issue, the property to descend to said Ann and her right heirs.

1783. September 16.—(Opinion of Christopher Fawcett, esq.) Part of the premises having been purchased for the enlargement of St. Andrew's churchyard, Mr. Fawcett was consulted as to whom the conveyance should be made, and whether the ground, having belonged to a chantry, should be consecrated. [The premises were purchased free from the payment of the 6s. 8d., which was charged upon the remaining part of the property, occupied by Samuel Edwards.] Mr. Fawcett advised (1) that Mr. Edwards could make a good title, (2) that as the premises to be conveyed were small, it was hardly worth while to be at the expense of a deed of bargain and sale enrolled in the Town's Court, (3) that as

the Mayor and Burgesses had license from the Crown to purchase to a certain extent, and had not, as he believed, purchased to that extent, the conveyance had best be made to them, and (4) that it would be necessary to have the ground consecrated.

PREMISES IN MIDDLE STREET AND HIGH BRIDGE, NEWCASTLE.

1674. November 11.—Will of William Ellinor, of Newcastle, sadler. To be buried at St. Nicholas; to son, John Ellinor, all those two low rooms, one chamber, and one garret loft, in occupation of William Robson, yeoman, being part of messuage on south side of Middle Street, John to pay to second son, Edward, £16 within three years; to son William and daughter Margery Ellinor, in equal division, all that low room and shop and those two chambers and two-garret lofts, in possession of said William, being part and parcel of said messuage. Residue to John and William (executors), and Margery in equal shares.

[John and William died without issue; Edward died and left issue a son named John, who claimed as heir-at-law to his uncle William. Margery married Edward Robson, and they enjoyed William's share till both died, leaving issue two sons. 'Lawyer Barnes' was consulted and advised that William and Margery were tenants in common, and not joint tenants, and that there could not be any benefit by survivorship, wherefore 'John, the son of Edward, is heir-at-law to William, and ought to enjoy his part of the same premises in case William died seised thereof in fee.']

1675. April 3.—Indre of demise (cancelled) from John Ellinor, of Newcastle, sadler, to Zachary Tyzack, of Howden Pans, broad glass maker, of the house in Middle Street, in the occupation of William Robson, to secure £20 and interest. (Signed) John Ellinor. Witnesses: Jno. Tizacke, Thomas Parkin, Peter Wilson, notary public.

1709-10. February 8.—Indre of demise by which Isabel Ellinor, of Newcastle, widow (George Stephenson, of Newcastle, yeoman, being bound with her) mortgages the house in Middle Street, in her own occupation, to William Hunter, of Newcastle, ropemaker, to secure £33 and interest. Signed by Wm. French, scrivener.

1711. April 2.—Indre of lease and release by which, for £46, Isabel, relict and administratrix of John Ellinor, deceased, releases to William Hunter and Margaret, his wife, the house, late John Ellinor's, and now in her own possession, in Middle Street. Witnesses: George Stephenson, Thomas Browne, John Hedley.

1777. November 1.—Indre of covenants between Anthony Barkas, Newcastle, butcher, and Margaret, his wife (granddaughter and heir-at-law of William Hunter, ropemaker, and Margaret, his wife), and Thomas Davidson, of Newcastle, esq., for levying a fine of premises in Middle Street and the south side of High Bridge, Newcastle, to enure to use of said Barkas for ever, and as to premises on the north side of High Bridge, in trust for said Barkas in fee. The house in Middle Street is described as in the successive occupations of John and Isabel Ellinor, William and Margaret Hunter, and now of William Leishman, sadler, boundering upon what was formerly a passage leading towards

Pudding Chare, 'and now is laid open to and is part and parcel of the king's majesty's high street,' N.W.; a messuage formerly in possession of William Tulip, ropemaker, 'and now belonging to, and in the occupation of, Luke Long[12] surgeon,' S.E.; Middle Street, N.E.; and the Meal Market, S.W.; also the messuage, with garth, back side, etc., and coach house and loft adjoining, in a place formerly called Upper Dean Bridge, otherwise Over Dean Bridge, and now High Bridge, on south side thereof, formerly in possession of (1) Katherine Trumble, widow, (2) William Hunter, and (3) Margaret, his wife, and now (4) of Richard Lambert, surgeon, John Paterson, blacksmith, Mark Charlton, and James Swan, heretofore enjoyed with another messuage in the easternmost part of the same in the possession of William Robson, his tenants or assigns, but conveyed, as the westernmost of the two, to Thomas Trumble, otherwise Turnbull, yeoman, deceased, to be held in severalty, etc. (Signed) Anthony Barkas, Margaret Barkas. Witnesses : Thomas Davidson, junr., G. Pickering.[13]

Mich. Term. 18. Geo. III.—Indre, parts of fine; Thos. Davidson, plaintiff, A. Barkas and wife, deforciants.

[12] Luke Long will not be found in the books named in footnote No. 1, but in the *Monthly Chronicle* for 1890, p. 275, under the title of 'Luke Long, Quack Doctor,' his curious history may be read. One of his advertisements in the *Newcastle Courant*, March 24, 1770, shows that very little change has taken place in the style of such productions. He announces, *inter alia:*

'A SPECIFIC for the Cure of the RHEUMATISM, SCIATICA, or GOUT, which never fails in giving relief. . . . It operates by prespiration (*sic*) and restores a regular circulation through the minutest canals. Sometimes three or four doses make a cure.

'Mr. Long was a student in Edinburgh, and a pupil in London ; and has been in great part of Europe, Africa and America.

"I, William Purvis, at the King's Head in the Groat Market, Newcastle, was so violently afflicted with the Rheumatism or Sciatica, that I was rendered incapable to walk or stand ; but by applying to Dr. Long, and taking his medicines I am free from pain.—As witness my hand, Wm. Purvis."

'N.B.—Mr. Long has an effectual cure for the SCURVY or LEPROSY, if the body is all over with Scurf, by an easy gentle operation . . . and insensible prespiration, requiring no confinement, but alteration in diet. . . .

'Also prepared and sold by the above Mr. LONG :

'An excellent SUGAR CAKE for destroying of Worms and all Worm matter. So pernicious are these VERMIN that there is hardly any age, sex, or constitution but are subject to them. . . . Price 1s. a Box.

'UNIVERSAL FAMILY PILLS : Their properties are to remove many distempers that the human body is subject to, and may be used with good success in diseases of the head, pains in the stomach, and greatly relieve palpitations of the heart, hysteric, or hypochondriacal vapours and fainting in woman. . . . Price 1s. a Box.

'TINCTURE FOR CLEANSING THE TEETH : which makes the Teeth beautiful and white, restores new gums when eaten away with the scurvy, fastens the teeth, and gives immediate ease in the most violent pains in the Tooth-ach. Price 1s. the bottle.'

[13] Geo. Pickering and Thos. Bedingfield, the local poets, being clerks in Mr. Davidson's office, witness respectively the deed of November, 1777, and the will of October 24, 1782 ; while James Ellis, who published their poetry, wrote some of his own, and corresponded with Sir Walter Scott, witnesses the deed of August, 1805. See *Men of Mark*, under the respective names.

1777. December 1.—Demise between Anthony Barkas and Esther Rutherford of Newcastle, spinster, of a messuage in Middle Street for 1,000 years by way of mortgage for securing £80 and interest.

1782. October 24.—Will of Anthony Barkas. To wife, Margaret, household goods, chattels and personal estate; also all messuages, etc., for life, and after her death the premises on north and south sides of High Bridge and in Middle Street and Groat Market to go to son George, and if he die without issue, the north side property in High Bridge to go to son Robert, and all the rest to son William. Also to son William, after death of widow, the house in his (William's) occupation at the head of Pudding Chair; and to son Robert the house in his (Robert's) occupation at the head of Middle Street. Residue to wife, sole executrix. Witnesses: Jno. Davidson, Thos. Bedingfeld,[13] Matt. Liddell.

1787. November 16 and 17.—Indres of lease and release between Anthony Barkas, first part, Bridgett Featherstonhaugh of Newcastle, spinster, second part; Esther Rutherford of Long Benton, spinster, third part; Thos. Davidson, gentleman, fourth part, being release of premises in Middle Street, occupied by Robt. Barkas, cordwainer, and Thos. Smoult, watchmaker, for securing £200 and interest. (Signed) Bridgett Fetherstonhaugh.

1787. December 26.—Indre of bargain and sale enrolled in the Town Court before William Cramlington, mayor, John E. Blackett, Hugh Hornby, Joseph Forster, sheriff, and others, between Anthony Barkas and Margaret, his wife, first part; Bridget Featherstonhaugh, second part; John Davidson, esq., third part.

1791. March 29 and 30.—Indre of lease and release, the latter of 4 parts: (1) Bridget Featherstonhaugh; (2) Margaret, relict and devisee for life of Anthony Barkas, deceased, and William Barkas, hairdresser, eldest son of Anthony; (3) Robt. Rumney of Warden, gentleman; (4) Thos. Davidson. Premises in Middle Street, occupied by Thos. Smoult and Rob. Atkinson.

1805. August 30 and 31.—Similar deed. (1) Robt. Rumney; (2) Wm. Barkas; (3) William Kirkley, of Newcastle, gentleman, and Thos. Armstrong of Newcastle, innkeeper, executors of Wm. Wilkinson of Newcastle, smith and farrier, deceased; (4) Thos. Davidson. Transfer of mortgage for securing £200 and interest upon freehold premises at the head of Middle Street. (Signed) Robert Rumney, Wm. Barkas, Thos. Davidson. Witnesses: Jas. Ellis,[13] Richard Rogerson, jun.

1812. December 1 and 2.—Similar deed. (1) Wm. Kirkley and Thos. Armstrong; (2) Wm. Barkas and John Wawn of Byker Buildings, gentlemen; (3) John Potts of Shilbottle, gentleman. Transfer of mortgage of £200. Premises in Middle Street, formerly occupied by Thos. Smoult and Robt. Atkinson, and now tenanted by Wm. Barkas, Thos. Liddell and Matthew Oliver, hairdresser. [The adjoining house, late Luke Long's, and afterwards occupied by James Hewitt, is described as in the occupation of John Todd, hairdresser.]

1822. February 14.—Deed acknowledging payment of the £200 by Anthony Barkas, tailor, only son and heir of Wm. Barkas who died intestate. House described as in the occupation of Anthony Barkas, Matt. Oliver and Thomas

Humble, basket maker.[14] Signed, John Wawn, John Potts. Witnesses: William Kirkley, Hugh Shield, clerk to Wm. Kirkley, solicitor, and George Tate.

PROPERTY IN GRINDON CHARE, NEWCASTLE.[15]

1679-80. February 28.—Indre of release by which Dorothy Braithwaite of Newcastle, spinster, releases to Sir Richard Stote of Jesmond, knight and serjeant at law, all that messuage, sellar, lofts, etc., in Grindon Chare in the occupation of Nicholas Fenwicke, merchant. (Signed) Dorothy Braithwaite. Witnesses: Mark Errington, Cuth. Mitford, Tho. Archbald.

1694. September 27 and 28.—Indres of lease and release by which, in consideration of £50 10s. 0d., Henry Holmes of Lincoln's Inn, London, releases to Matthew White of Newcastle, merchant adventurer and alderman, the above-named premises then or lately in the possession of Nicholas Fenwick and the said White. (Signed) Hen. Holmes. Witnesses: La. Allgood, Dan. Collingwood.

1750-51. January 14 and 15.—Indres of lease and release, whereby for £70 Matthew White of Blagdon, esq., releases to Thomas Hall of Newcastle, tallow chandler, the same messuage formerly in the occupation of Nicholas Fenwick, afterwards of George Harrison, merchant, and then or late in possession of said White, his under tenants, etc. (Signed) Matthew White. Witnesses: John Richardson, W. Graham, Thos. Watson.

1755. August 27.—Will of Thos. Hall of Newcastle, tallow chandler. To wife, Mary Hall, for life or widowhood, all freehold lands, tenements, etc., and all that late new built messuage, sellars, etc., in Grindon Chare, leased for 21 years from the earl of Scarbrough, and all that messuage, etc., used as a workhouse in the Dean, near the Painterheugh, leased for 21 years from the mayor and burgesses of Newcastle (with provisions for renewals). After death or marriage of wife, the messuages, etc., on the Sandhill (late the estate of Geo. Pickering, deceased), purchased of Anthony Stevenson and wife, in the tenure of John Watt and Will. Varney, to eldest son Ralph Hall; ditto in Grindon Chare (except that which was purchased of Matthew White), and the leasehold messuage there (which is to go with the freehold so far as can be done), to son John Hall; the freehold at the corner of the Sandhill, the lower part of which was then enjoyed by testator, and the upper part occupied by Wm. Varney, also the freehold in Grindon Chare in the tenure of Wm. Rowell, merchant, lately purchased of Matthew White, esq., together with the leasehold near the Painterheugh, to son Willoughby Hall. To son Ralph £500, which with the

[14] There is an excellent view of Humble's shop in Bruce's *Handbook to Newcastle*, 1863, p. 56, showing also the adjoining house in which John Cunningham the poet died. In a contribution to the *Newcastle Chronicle*, dated March 26, 1888, the late Alderman T. P. Barkas refers to it as follows:—'The upper right hand shop was occupied by Tommy Humble as a basket maker. . . . He did not, however, live in the house above the shop; that was occupied by an old tailor rejoicing in the cognomen of Anty Barkas. He was a relation of mine.' Many of us remember passing this shop with its baskets hanging outside, when crossing from High Bridge to Pudding Chare. It was the last to be pulled down for the northern extension of the town hall buildings.

[15] Described as an old warehouse in Grindon Chare, near the Butcher Bank end thereof, on the east side, belonging (in 1848) to Mr. Francis Sanderson, iron merchant.

messuages above devised, and copyhold lands and tenements at Bowdon, county Durham, which descend to him after his mother's death, 'I doubt not but that he will gratefully accept as the portion of my eldest son;' to son John £300; to son Willoughby, £400; to daughter Elizabeth Pemberton, £300. Residue to wife, who, with brother-in-law, Thos. Hornsby of Durham, and friends, James Brack of Washington, county Durham, gentleman, and John Richardson of Newcastle, gentleman, are executors. Attested by W. Rowell, Jos. Lee and Rt. Walker.

1759. May 15 and 16.—Indres of lease and release between Mary and Willoughby Hall, first part, Ralph Hall, of Newcastle, merchant, second part, and William Leaton, of Gibside, gentleman, third part, whereby Mary and Willoughby, for £600, and Ralph, for 5s., mortgaged to Leaton the premises before mentioned.

1763. July 15.—Will of Willoughby Hall. To mother, Mary Hall, for life, all his messuages, etc., in Newcastle, and after her decease to brother, doctor John Hall,[16] and sister, Elizabeth Pemberton, widow, charged, after death of John, with £5 to brother Ralph, and 20 guineas to Mr. William Nesbit, of Newcastle.

1773. December 10 and 11.—Indres of lease and release by which Elizabeth Pemberton, for £100, released to Thomas Gowland, of Jewry Street, London, one full moiety of the messuages, etc., lately belonging to Willoughby Hall, deceased subject to proviso for payment of said £100 with interest.

1774. February 10 and 11.—Indres of lease and release by which Elizabeth Pemberton, for £40, conveyed to John Letteny, of Grays Inn, gentleman, the premises above named on trust to sell same, paying Leaton one moiety of £600, Gowland £100, himself £40, and the surplus to Pemberton.

1776. September 12 and 13.—Gowland and Letteny convey the premises to John Hall, M.D.

1793. February 8.—John Hall, M.D., and his eldest son, Walter Hall, after reciting that said John and Walter had borrowed of Messrs. Ralph John Lambton, Robert Hopper Williamson, and Richard Chambers £3,220, mortgage to them the house in Grindon Chare, known by the name of the Sun, tenanted by Thomas Burdon and Robert Raine, with warehouses adjoining to the S., also the surplus of houses mortgaged to the executors of William Leaton, deceased, at south-east corner of Sandhill, and the cellars and warehouses in Grindon Chare known as White's Lofts, etc.

1791. February 14.—Will of John Hall, by which he gave to Martha, his wife, all his effects whatsoever, and made her executrix.

1795. April 24 and 25.—Indres by which, in consideration of £150 paid by Stephen Atkinson, of Newcastle, broker, said Lambton, Williamson, and Chambers and Martha Hall convey to Atkinson the house in Grindon Chare, boundering on premises of William Burnop, N., and representatives of John Cook, S.

1803. October 27.—Bond from S. Atkinson to Anna and Elizabeth Atkinson.

1809. March 21.—Indre of bargain and sale by which James Losh, esq., an Joseph Willis and Walter Heron, of Newcastle, gentlemen, convey the property

[16] Dr. John Hall, an eminent physician in Newcastle at the close of the eighteenth century; founder of the Dispensary, Bellegrove House Asylum, and the baths in Bath Lane. See Dr. Embleton's *Newcastle Medical Society One Hundred Years Ago, passim.*

in Grindon Chare, in trust to Thomas Sanderson, of Newcastle, merchant, and Jonathan Hilton, of Newcastle, grocer.

1810. June 21 and 22.—Stephen Atkinson, of Windmill Hills, county Durham, insurance broker (mentioned as S.A. bankrupt) and Sarah, his wife, convey to Anna and Elizabeth Atkinson, of Pandon Bank, Newcastle, spinsters, and Jonathan Scott, of Newcastle, gentleman, the house in Grindon Chare, boundering upon premises formerly William Burnup's, and now belonging to Anthony Dunn, butcher, N., and upon premises formerly Jno. Cook's, then Charles Charlton's and now John Hopper's, S.

1810. July 28.—Will of Anna Atkinson, spinster. Mentions plate left by her father's will, stock in the five per cents., £1402 10s. 6d., one half of which belongs to her sister Elizabeth ; names also three nieces : Margaret, Elizabeth, and Anna, daughters of Stephen Atkinson by his first wife, Margaret Hymers. If her brother, Ralph Harle Atkinson, by being put on the superannuation list or any other cause, should be reduced to an income of £50 per annum, he is to receive dividends on £200 of above-named stock. To beloved friend, Mrs. Clark (wife of Edmond Clark, of Newcastle, gentleman), a ring of £3 value. Mentions sister Leaviss and Mrs. Matthew Atkinson, late Dorothy Liddel. Executors : James Potts, Byker, and Mr. George Clementson, Shieldfield, with £10 each for their trouble. Witnesses : Dorothy Atkinson, Mary Potts, and Margaret Henderson.

1822. November 13.—Will of Elizabeth Atkinson (died in 1833) of East King Street, Westo, county Durham, spinster. To Elizabeth, niece, £200 and gold watch. [Elizabeth died, married, but without issue, before testatrix.] Mentions Margaret Reay, and Anna Atkinson, daughters of brother Stephen by Margaret Hymers. Executors : James Potts, Pandon House, and George Clementson, Shieldfield. Witnesses : Eleanor Thompson, John Thompson, and Ch. Bainbridge, South Shields.

1834. November 3 and 4.—Indres of lease and release by which Anna Atkinson, Newcastle, spinster, conveys the property in Grindon Chare to John Reay, of South Shields, raff merchant, and Margaret, his wife.

Premises in Westgate Street and Sandgate, Newcastle.

1709. April 29.—Indre of lease and release by which Jno. Bourne of Newcastle, cordwainer, in consideration of £100, conveys to Anne Davison of Newcastle, widow, all those messuages (formerly a parcel of waste ground) in the Westgate, near the end of the Puudding Chare boundering, upon Westgate, S., Pudding Chare, E., the messuage formerly of Wm. Chater, weaver, and late of Isabel Johnson, widow, W., and the messuage of John Byfeild, gentleman, N. Also a messuage in Pearson's Chare, north side of Sandgate, bounded by tenements of Robert Richardson, S., Ralph Farmer, N., Robert Anderson, baker and brewer, W., and Anne Stockden, widow, E. Also two messuages in Maughan's Chare, leading from Sandgate to the Tyne, boundered by lands formerly of John Morton, master and mariner, and now of John Harrison, mason, N., a tenement of Thos. S. Heath, Gofton's Chare E., and Maughan's Chare W. Proviso for redemption on payment of £100 and interest on 25 October following. (Signed) John Bourne. Witnesses : Wm. Carnaby, Ralph ffetherstonhalgh, Robert Burrell.

1711. April 30.—Indre of assignment between Robt. Crow of Newcastle, merchant, first part, and Anne Davison and Robt. Thomlinson of Newcastle, clerk, second part. Reciting that Jno. Bourne (as above) and Richard Woodruffe of Newcastle, tobacconist, on June 14, 1706, became bound to Crow in penal sum of £80 for payment of £40 with interest, that Crow obtained judgment in Queen's Bench for said debt of £80 and 63s. damages, and that Henry Dalston, sheriff, sitting in the Guildhall, April 18, 9 Anne, found that Bourne was seised in his demesne as of fee of one messuage in the Nolt Market, Newcastle, occupied by Will. Henderson, of the clear yearly value of £7, and of another in Pudding Chare, occupied by Margaret Watson and said Bourne, of same value, and that this last named property was a true and equal moiety of all Bourne's lands and tenements in the county of the said Sheriff, which said moiety the Sheriff did deliver to Robt. Crow, to hold until such debt, etc., should be fully levied. And in Easter Term, 9 Anne, an action of ejectment was brought for the moiety so delivered, by Alex. Spight, plaintiff, against Cuth. Barker, defendant, wherein plaintiff declared that on May 2, 9 Anne, Crow demised to him one messuage in Newcastle for seven years, which messuage he held till defendant ejected him, in which action of ejectment plaintiff recovered the said term then to come of and in the messuages, etc. Reciting also that there was then due to Crow, £64 11s., in consideration of which sum, paid to him by Anne Davison, said Crow set over the property to said Thomlinson, he being a person named in trust for said Anne Davison. (Signed) Robt. Crowe. Witness: Chr. Midford.

1745. March 19 and 20.—Indre of lease and release by which Robt. Thomlinson, D.D., rector of Wickham, George Grey of Newcastle, esq., and Wm. Ellison of Newcastle, alderman, executors of Anne Davison (John Ord, another executor, being dead) released the said mortgaged property in Pudding Chare to Richd. Clutterbuck[17] of Warkworth, gentleman, son and heir of Jno. Clutterbuck, late of Newcastle, gentleman, deceased.

1745. March 20.—Indre of assignment, quadripartite, Robt. Thomlinson, first part; Geo. Grey and Will. Ellison, second part; John Simpson of Newcastle, alderman, third part; Richard Clutterbuck, fourth part, by which the houses in Pudding Chare are assigned to Simpson.

1774. December 19.—Copy of will of Richard Clutterbuck, of Warkworth, by which he devised to his son John all his real and personal estate, and made him executor. To brother-in-law, John Simpson, £10 for a mourning ring; to daughters Margaret and Mary, £1,000 each at 21; his wife to be their guardian. Mentions daughter married to Rev. Thos. Bates, rector of Whalton, and his late mother, Elizabeth.

1815. August 18.—John Clutterbuck, esq., of Warkworth, son and heir of Richard Clutterbuck, deceased, conveys the houses in Westgate Street and Pudding Chare to Wm. Burnett of Newcastle, gentleman.

An account of heir-looms in the house in the Pudding Chare in possession of Ann Green, widow :—In the kitchen—a dresser table and shelves, a kitchen grate, a firm seat, a dog wheel. Fore dore—A spring lock and two keys. Two Garretts—two iron grates. On closet—lock and key.

[17] See pedigree of the Clutterbucks, by Mr. J. Crawford Hodgson, in the new *History of Northumberland*, vol. v. p. 459.

VII.—EXCAVATIONS AT CHESTERS IN SEPT. 1900.

By F. Haverfield, F.S.A.

Note.

Since the notes on these excavations were written (p. 9), the Roumanian scholar and archaeologist, Prof. Tocilesco, has published an inscription which strikingly illustrates them. It was found in a Roman fort at Bumbeshti, near the south end of the Vulkan Pass over the Carpathians, and it testifies that this fort had in the second century ramparts of turves (muri cespiticii) but was rebuilt in stone A.D. 201 in the reign of Septimius Severus. When it was first erected we do not yet know, but it cannot be earlier than about A.D. 110, and there is some slight reason to ascribe it to about A.D. 138-140 (Hadrian or Pius). The inscription is as follows :—

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabic[us] Adiab(enicus) Parth(icus) maximus, pontifex maximus, trib. pot. viiii, imp. xii, e[t] Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M. Aur(elius) Antoninus Pius felix Augustus trib. pot. iii, muros cesp[iticios] castro[ru]m coh. primae A[u]reliae Brittonum miliariae Antoniniana(e), vetust(ate) dila[psos], lapide eos restitue[r]unt per Octavium Julianum leg(atum) ipso[rum] pr(o) pr(aetore).

Gr. G. Tocilesco, *Fouilles et recherches archéologiques* (Bucarest : Ispasesco).

VIII.—THE BOUTFLOWERS OF APPERLEY.

By the Rev. D. S. BOUTFLOWER.

(Read on the 31st of July, 1901.)

The surname of the family whose history this paper attempts to record belongs peculiarly to the north-eastern corner of England. Originally spelt Bultflour or Bulteflour, it has assumed many forms and various pronunciations. It appears to have been in the first place a designation given to persons who bolted or sifted flour, and this signification is attested by the present and traditional mode of pronunciation in one of three existing families that bear the name. These are the Boutflours of Newbiggin-by-the-sea, who have for three hundred years been connected with the parish of Woodhorn; the Boutflowers of Hart, of whose ancestry I have no particulars; and the descendants of my great-grandfather John Boutflower, sometime vicar of Seamer, near Scarborough.

There have been, however, not a few other families bearing this name in years past and taking it with them, as a rule, southwards and along the sea-coast. John Bultflow[1] was a mason employed at York minster in the year 1433. Agnes Bountfloure[2] receives 6s. 8d. from the treasurer of the chambers in 1529. Raphe Booltflower[3] was one of the bailiffs of Dunwich in 1583. William Butflower, gent.,[4] is commemorated on a monumental stone at Heverland, Norfolk, in 1638. John Boughtflower is mentioned in the will of Jane Garfit of Skirbeck quarter, Boston, in 1740.[5] There were Boutflowers at Bermondsey in 1749;[6] in the parish of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in 1781;[6] and at Sheerness in 1810.[6] In our own neighbourhood the name occurs at Whickham,[7] Alnwick[8] and Newcastle[9] in the

[1] *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (35 Surt. Soc. publ.), p. 50.

[2] *Letters and Papers* (*Henry VIII.*) vol. v. p. 308, *ann.* 1531/2.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1581-1590, p. 91.

[4] Parkin's *Norfolk*, vol. viii. p. 233.

[5] *Lincoln Registry of Wills.* [6] Somerset House.

[7] Deputy Keeper of the Records, 37th Report, p. 17.

[8] Durham Registry, 1592 (Will of Isabel Bootflower).

[9] *Depositions and Ecclesiastical Proceedings* (21 Surt. Soc. publ.), pp. 281-284; Brand's *Newcastle*, vol. i. p. 599.

sixteenth century, and at Brancepeth[10] and Durham[11] a hundred years later. In all or nearly all of these cases I am inclined to think that we have traces of independent families now extinct.

But the earliest occurrences of the name are to be found, I believe, in connection with the family whose history we shall endeavour to follow. It is first mentioned in bishop Kellawe's register (31 Edward I.), where something is said of two acres of land held by Johan Bultflour in the field of Ravensworth.[12] Some forty-three years later we find William Bultflour holding a messuage and xxviii acres by charter in Kyblesworth, for which he pays a rental of 16 shillings; in Pokirle he holds ii acres of land and pays 12d.; so says bishop Hatfield's Survey.[13] The names of William Bultflower of Kibblesworth and of Robert Bultflour occur in the Rolls of the same prelate in the years 1348[14] and 1353.[15] In bishop Fordham's Rolls two persons of the same name meet us in the year 1381,[16] and Robert Bultflour comes before us again in the third year of bishop Skirlaw (1391.)[17] Then we return once more to the connexion of the family with Pokerley. In the twenty-fourth year of bishop Langley (1430/31), Thomas Bulteflour of Pokirley, who is probably to be identified with the person of the same name, against whom a writ of *fieri facias* had been issued twelve years previously,[18] becomes with William Bulteflour of Lynte a surety for the good behaviour of Richard Flemyng of Gateshead towards three persons in particular and the public generally.[19] The connexion between the Bultfloures of Ravensworth, Pokirley and Lints may be presumed to be thus established.

Sixteen years later William Bultfloure of Lynte reappears[20] in the chancery of Durham, on the Wednesday after the Epiphany in the eighth year of bishop Neville, being the twenty-fourth year of king Henry VI., that is, in the year 1446. He states that on the 20th of August, 1401, died Henry Kaunt, seized of a tenement and a close called Lofthouslyntes, held by military service, leaving a widow named

[10] Brancepeth Register. [11] St. Oswald's Register.
[12] *Registrum Pal. Dunelmense*, vol. iii. p. 36.
[13] 32 Surtees Soc. publ. pp. 107, 108.
[14] Deputy Keeper of the Records, 31st Report, p. 116. [15] *Ibid.* p. 117.
[16] *Ibid.* 32nd Report, p. 308. [17] *Ibid.* 33rd Report, p. 58.
[18] *Ibid.* p. 107. [19] *Ibid.* p. 147. [20] *Ibid.* 34th Report, p. 222.

Julian, but without surviving issue. Agnes, the sister of Julian, had married Robert Bultflour, probably the person mentioned in bishop Skirlaw's Rolls, and became the mother of John Bultflour, whose son William now aged about forty years claims the estate. The judgment of the court is wanting, the document being imperfect, but it is a significant fact that the Apperley family possessed land in Lintz a century and a half later.

The earliest reference to the Boutflower family in their Northumberland home is supplied by Hodgson.[21] He tells us that Geoffrey Boutflour of Apperley, who by the way had a namesake and contemporary at Whickham, married the second daughter of John Fenwick of Wallington, and of Joan Clavering of Callaley, his wife. Neither christian name nor date is given, nor yet the historian's authority for his statement, but her younger sister Agnes became the wife of Odonel Carnaby of Portgate, in 1529. Geoffrey Boutflower, then, was living at Apperley to all appearance some years before the dissolution of the religious houses. The early history of Apperley is obscure. The prior and canons of Hexham held the homage of John de Normanvil for the lands of Stokesfield and Apetreley in 1298, by the service of 13s. 8d., the gift of William, son of Boso.[22] In the 'Black Book of Hexham' (1479) Stokesfield is mentioned, whilst Apperley is omitted.[23] In 1366 Thomas de Menevyll of Appilerley is mentioned in a deed executed at Whittonstall.[24] On the other hand the abbey of Blanchland is said to have been endowed with the appropriations of Herelaw, Bywell, Stiford, Shotley, Apperley, and Heddon-on-the-Wall St. Andrew.[25] The place of Apperley on this list, and the fact that the estate was half-believed to be extra-parochial,[26] seem to point to the property, which was afterwards held by the Boutflowers, and not to the small homestead of the same name in the immediate vicinity of Blanchland.

By whatever means the eastern Apperley became Boutflower property, Geoffrey Boutflower was, as we have seen, its occupier and

[21] Hodgson's *Northumberland*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 256.
[22] *Hexham Priory* (46 Surt. Soc. publ.), p. 117. [23] *Ibid.* p. 19.
[24] Surtees, *Durham*, vol. i. p. 30. [25] See Additional Note (A), p. 286.
[26] See Medomsley Register, 21st November, 1768.

probably its possessor about the middle of the reign of Henry VIII. He was represented, I take it, at the muster of 1538 by his son Raufe, at that time at least eighteen years of age, and 'able with hors and harnes.'[27] We catch sight of this Ralph at a much later date in the will of his uncle, John Fenwick of Walker,[28] younger son of John Fenwick above mentioned, and brother of Sir Roger Fenwick of Wallington. John Fenwick the younger married Isabel Heron of Chipchase, but died without issue. He makes various bequests to the children of his three sisters, the Wooderingtons of Kirkheaton, the Boutflowers of Apperley, and the Carnabys of Portgate. Amongst them occurs the following:—'To Rauf Boutflour of Apperley, 3 draught oxen, which he hath of mine, and to his eldest son George Boutflour, xx sheep hogges. To Thomas Boutflour a stot of iii years ould, and to Annes Boutflour 2 ky and x lammes.' Thomas and Annes were presumably the brother and sister of George who was already farming on his own account. Another brother may have been Richard Boutflower of Hedley-on-the-hill, who died in the year 1629, leaving a son Ralph, and a grandson Richard, and whose will is attested by Agnes Boutflower.[29] His line appears to have terminated with the younger Richard and his two sisters Dorothy and Isabel.

Once again we meet with Ralph Boutflower the elder, in 1595, in which year, on 15th August, a pardon is granted in the chancery of Durham to Nicholas Hedley of Newcastle, merchant, on his entry into a messuage or tenement called Lints or Overlints, purchased from Ralph Boutflower of Apperley in the county of Northumberland, gentleman.[30]

Ralph Boutflower, like his uncle Fenwick, must have lived a long life. His death took place between 1595 and 1608. Was he succeeded by his eldest son George, or by a grandson of the same name, or was the estate in the hands of two successive George Boutflowers? One of the two last suggestions must, I think, be adopted. In 1608 Mr. George Boutflower is the freehold owner

[27] *Arch. Ael.* (old series), vol. iv. p. 126.

[28] *Northern Wills and Inven.* (Surt. Soc. publ.), vol. ii. p. 55.

[29] Durham Registry. [30] Deputy Keeper of the Records, 37th Report, p. 128.

of Apperley.[31] In 1617 George Bowtflower of Apperley purchased from Henry Robson a messuage or free tenement in Hyndeley.[32] In the 16th year of James I. (1619/20) George Boltflower is described as then or lately holding 50 acres of land called 'le intack,' parcell of the barony of Bywell and Bolbeck, formerly the possession of Charles, earl of Westmorland.[33] In 1623 Richard Newton of Eltringham appoints as supervisors of his will George Boutflower of Apperlie, Roger Newton and Ralph Newton of Newcastle, his brothers, and Edward Surtees of Hedleywoodside.[34] In 1624 Mr. George Boutflower of Apperlie is a creditor of the estate of Richard Boutflower of Hedley above mentioned. In 1639 Mr. George Boutflowre of Apperlie and Mr. Lancelot Newton of Stokfeld were lessees of the Bywell fishery.[35] Finally, George Boutflower is commemorated on a monumental stone at Whittonstall, recording his death on 21st February, 1641 [?], and exhibiting the arms used by the family, *a chevron with three fleur-de-lis in chief.*

My own belief is that we have here the record of the lives of two George Boutflowers, father and son, and that the younger was in possession of Apperley in 1617. In the Hindley purchase of that year, William and John Boutflower are witnesses. They were, I think, sons of the younger George Boutflower, and their mother was probably one of the Newtons of Eltringham. William, as the elder, would inherit the patrimonial estates. The younger brother, John, may be safely identified with 'Johannes Boultflower, Northumbrius, filius Georgii in agro predicto,' who, after previous education at the Free school and Pembroke hall, entered himself on the books of Christ's college, Cambridge, in 1625.[36] He took his bachelor's degree at the same time with his fellow-collegian, the poet Milton, in 1629.[37] Hodgson tells us that he was chaplain to bishop Morton, who, in 1633, presented him to the vicarage of Whelpington. He became, further, in 1638, vicar of Warden,[38] on the nomination of his

[31] Hodgson's *MSS.* [32] *Arch. Ael.* (old series), vol. ii. p. 132 *n.*
[33] *Patent Rolls*, 16 James I. pt. 13. [34] Durham Registry of Wills.
[35] Hodgson's *MSS.* *Arch. Ael.* vol. xiii. p. 118.
[36] Christ's College Register. [37] Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. i. p. 184.
[38] Hodgson's *Northumberland*, pt. ii. vol. i. p. 205; and pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 407.

kinsman, sir John Fenwick, where he was succeeded on his demise by Ralph Carr in 1642. He must have lived, I think, at Whelpington, and left behind him there a son of the same name, for the chalice of that church bears the name of John Bowltflower, churchwarden.[39]

William and John Boutflower had probably a third brother called George, for the marriage register of Witton Gilbert records, under date 2nd December, 1641, the union of George Boutflower of Bywell St. Peter with Mildred Hutton of St. Oswald's. She was the daughter of Ralph Hutton of Mainsforth, first of the name, and inherited a portion of £200, together with her father's best 'hatt' and her mother's best petticoat.[40] It is this George Boutflower, I think, who was so trying to the tenants of his kinswoman's husband, baron Ratcliffe of Dilston, in 1644. Their pitiful complaint is worth quoting :—'Now the rent of the said land is demanded of us by Mr. Bootflower, which we did not expect should be required in regard that at Candlemas last our hay, corne, horses, sheepe and beastes were violently taken from us by the Scottish army : the traine of artillery lay in our poor steede five days and six nights.'[41]

William Boutflower of Apperley died before midsummer, 1657. On 25th June of that year, administration of his estate was granted in the principal court at London to his natural, lawful, and only son, Thomas. A special reason drew Thomas Boutflower south at this time. This was the death of the well-known colonel Fenwick, sometime governor of Berwick. George Fenwick of Brinkburne, and (by purchase) of Monkwearmouth Shore, is described in his will as of Wormanhurst in the county of Sussex, the old home of his first wife. The date of probate is 25th April, 1657. His daughters are of course mentioned, then his brother, Dr. Claudius Fenwick of Newcastle, his sister Ledgard and her son, his sister Cullick and her children, his niece Clifton, and his niece Bootflower's boy, who receives a legacy of £50. The two nieces are, I have no doubt, the daughters of his eldest sister, Mrs. Weldon,[42] who must have predeceased him. This may have been the case also with Mrs. Bootflower, or the bequest to the boy may have been due to the fact that the testator had a strong

[39] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newc.* iv. 159. [40] Surtees, *Durham*, iii. 18 *n*.

[41] Forster's *History of Corbridge*, p. 41.

[42] Hodgson's *Northumberland*, pt. ii. vol. i. p. 256.

regard for the father, as well as some affection for the mother. Thomas Boutflower was indeed a man after colonel Fenwick's heart. The death or the legacy or both may have taken him at this time to the south of England. When there I conclude that he heard of his own father's death, and at once took out letters of administration.

Of Thomas Boutflower of Apperley a good deal is known. In views he was a decided and consistent puritan; in regard to means a man of substance; in disposition hospitable rather than economical. He was a friend of some at least of the ejected ministers. Mr. John Davis, ejected from Bywell, retired to Welldon, and preached 'sometimes at his own house, sometimes at sir William Middleton's at Belsay, sometimes at Mr. Bourflower's at Appleby.'[43] He was also the friend and executor of Thomas Turvin (or Trewren), ejected from Ovingham, who in his nuncupative will, dated 17th January, 1676, bequeaths to Mrs. Elizabeth Ogle (of whom we shall hear more), six red leather hose, and to Mr. Thos. Boutflower a clock.[44] Of his estate we shall be able to form some idea from his assessment to the county rate in 1663, which gives a detailed account of his landed property as follows:—Apperley cu' Hindley, 6s., paid by Mr. Thos. Boutflower of Apperley on a rental of £50. Hassex, 10d., by the same on a rental of £6. Hindley Newton's, 3s. 8d., paid by Mr. Wallis on a rental of £24, and by Mr. Thos. Boutflower on a rental of £14. Wheelbirks, 1s. 6d., paid Mr. Thos. Boutflower on a rental of £8. Mickley, Mr. Thos. Boutflower contributes to a payment of 10s., his rental being £1. Rochelle Foot, 1s., on a rental of £2 10s.[45] In 1667, his name occurs first on the list in the collection of the poll tax in Whittonstall chapelry. Apperley, Mr. Thos. Boutflower and his wife, one child, and one manservant and maidservant, 9d.[46] In 1676 he paid for firehearth money 8d. for eight chimneys; the other gentlemen of the district paying as follows: Mr. Wm. Sanderson of Healey, 9d.; Mr. Wm. Fenwick of Bywell, 6d.; Mr. Thos. Errington of Riding Mill, 5d.[47] I infer from this that the present modest mansion at Apperley occupies the site of an older and larger house.

[43] Calamy; Kennet's *Register*, p. 892.
[44] *Arch. Ael.* vol. xiii. p. 39.
[45] Hodgson's *Northumberland*, pt. i. vol. iii. pp. 286-288.
[46] Hodgson's *MSS.*
[47] Record Office, Document $\frac{1}{110}$.

Thomas Boutflower's will is dated 31st December, 1683,[48] and five days later his body was, no doubt, as he desired, laid in the chancel of the chapel of Whittonstall beside those of his ancestors and dear relations. His wife Jane and his younger son William were his appointed executors. A buoyant expression of hope as to his own future is in marked contrast with his anxiety for his daughters and three poor relicts; if woods be selling well each is to have £200; if otherwise the youngest must have £150. His cousins, Richard Newton of Eltringham and George Heslope of Newcastle, are to be supravisors. His personal estate is appraised at £60; debts due to him £4; debts due from his estate £89, of which £50 is owing to his son William, whilst the funeral expenses reach the considerable sum of £30.

The family of Thomas Boutflower consisted of two sons and three daughters, Nathaniel, William, Elizabeth, Dorothy, and Mehetabel. The mother and daughters removed to Newcastle. Mehetabel died in 1685, Elizabeth in 1686, both unmarried, 'Mrs. ——— Bowtflower' in 1697. All were buried at St. Nicholas. Dorothy, the surviving sister, married in 1691 John Ornsby of Newcastle, draper. She had one son who died young. Her own death took place in 1712. The two brothers married and left children behind them. We shall find it most convenient to follow out first the fortunes of the younger.

William, second son of Thomas Boutflower, apprenticed to Mr. Benezer Durant, mercer, on the 14th April, 1675, was about ten months after his father's death, upon a reasonable fine of £10, he having yet four months of his apprenticeship to serve, admitted a freeman of the Merchants' Company.[49] In the following February he married at Durham cathedral, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Ralph Hutton of Mainsforth, second of the name. Her father, according to Surtees, had been commissary of Richmond,[50] and she had a fortune of £250. Her uncle, Thomas Cradock, was attorney-general of the bishopric, and one of her aunts was married to Dr.

[48] Durham Registry of Wills.

[49] Register of *Merchant Adventurers, Newcastle.*

[50] Surtees, *Durham*, vol. iii. p. 19.

Musgrave, dean of Carlisle and prebendary of the tenth stall. She became the mother of two children—Thomas, who died an infant, and Elizabeth. Her death took place in 1688 at the age of thirty-five. She was buried at Bishop Middleham, where her monumental tablet still remains. After four years' widowhood, William Boutflower bound himself, his brother-in-law Ralph Hutton, third and last of the name, being his fellow-surety, to marry Thomasine Allinson of Durham. She was the second daughter of Marmaduke Allinson, mercer, and sometime mayor of that city, the grandson and namesake of Marmaduke Blakiston of Newton hall, prebendary of the seventh stall. Thomasine Allinson was thus the great-niece of bishop Cosin. Her elder sister Mary had married William Wilson, spiritual chancellor of the bishopric.[51] She herself had a fortune of £300.[52] She bore her husband six children, Thomasine, Jane, William, Alice, Marmaduke and Hannah. Three of them, Thomasine, William, and Hannah, died in infancy. Their mother's death followed in 1708, and that of her husband in 1712. All were buried at St. Nicholas's.

In spite of two marriages, which brought him means and connexions, William Boutflower does not appear to have been a specially successful merchant. In 1685 he borrowed of the company £50 of Mr. Carr's money.[53] Four enrolments of apprentices occur in the years 1686, 1691, 1698, and 1700 respectively; none in the last twelve years of his life. In 1699 he was admitted a member of the Hostmen's Company,[54] and in 1701 he was sheriff of Newcastle. But he never attained to the mayoralty, and in 1712 died intestate. Of his friendships the St. Nicholas' registers give us some idea. Excluding the names of relatives, we have the following, either as sponsors of his children, or parents of his godchildren:—Thomas Huntley, mariner; Edward Marley, barber-chirurgeon; Peter Russell, cooper; Jonathan Hargraves, merchant; Mr. Nicholas Ridley (twice); Mrs. Martha Ridley; John Vazey and Mrs. Margaret Vazey (each twice); Mrs. Sarah Johnson; Mr. William

[51] Surtees, *Durham*, vol. i. p. 74 *n.*

[52] See will of Marmaduke Allinson in the Durham Registry (1689).

[53] *Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle* (93 Surt. Soc. publ.), p. 230.

[54] Archer's *History of the Coal Trade of Northumberland and Durham*, pt. i. p. 211.

Dawson; Mrs. Mary Ogle; Mrs. Ann Davison; Mr. Christopher Teasdale; Mr. Henry Dalston.

Of the fortunes of William Boutflower's family little is known. Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, administered her father's estate. Surtees, who confuses her with her mother, leads us to believe that she married some one of the name of Vesey.[55] This was no doubt her father's ward, William Vazey, the younger and surviving son of John Vazey of Gateshead and Wolsingham.[56] Jane Boutflower, the second sister, was betrothed to Benjamin Wilson of St. Nicholas in 1720. Of Alice and Marmaduke no local record has been found.

We return now to the elder brother of the Newcastle merchant, Nathaniel Boutflower of Apperley. He had married in his father's lifetime (February 22nd, 1676) Dorothy, daughter of John Ogle of Kirkley. A MS. memorandum of one of his descendants, communicated to the rev. John Hodgson,[57] describes him as captain Nathaniel Boutflower. There seem to be grounds for believing this to be correct; his name is met with rarely in the parish books, and the baptisms of his children occur at singularly irregular intervals. This looks as if he were a good deal away from home. The eldest son is born nine years after his parents' marriage in 1685: but there was, I think, an elder child, Mrs. Betty Boutflower, buried at Bywell St. Peter in 1699. The christian name is that of the grandmother Ogle, who apparently lived at Apperley in her widowhood, and died there in 1708. Nathaniel Boutflower took but little part at any time in parochial affairs, but his relations with his own kinsfolk were at all times friendly. They were no less so with the Ogle family. On the death of his brother-in-law Ralph Ogle, he became, with Thomas Ogle of Newcastle, trustee of the Kirkley estates,[58] eventually inherited by his nephew and namesake Nathaniel Ogle.

The life of Nathaniel Boutflower was prolonged till 1720; his widow Dorothy lived to see her great-grandchildren, and died in 1737. Their children were three sons, Thomas, John, and William, and at least one daughter, Mary.

[55] Surtees, *Durham*, vol. iii. p 19.

[56] See will of John Vazey (1699) Durham Registry.

[57] Now in the hands of Mr. J. Crawford Hodgson.

[58] Will of Ralph Ogle of Kirkley (1705), Durham Registry.

Thomas, the eldest son, baptized in 1685, married in 1709 Mrs. Margaret Lee of Old Ridley, widow. This lady, I am disposed to think, brought him some landed estate, for I find him voting as a freeholder in the election of 1710.[59] There were four children of this marriage, William, Elizabeth, Barbary, and Dorothy. The family seems to have resided at the old home at Apperley till the death of Thomas Boutflower in 1717. Margaret Boutflower, the widow and mother, then removed to Hexham, probably with a view to the education of her children. The Hexham register bears witness to her discretion; her intimate friends in that place were Mr. Thomas Rotheram and Mr. William Johnson, successively masters of the free school, and especially Mr. George Mittforth, apothecary. It was at Hexham in the year 1718 that the eldest daughter Elizabeth died. In 1725 we find the mother's death recorded in the Bywell St. Peter's register. She must have lived somewhat beyond her means, for administration of her personal estate was granted in the court at York to Lancelot Allgood of Hexham, her chief creditor.

John, the second son of Nathaniel Boutflower, born in 1687, married in 1712 Mrs. Jane Vasy of the parish of Ovingham. Their union was only brief, for the next year we find at Bywell the burial of Mrs. Jane, wife of Mr. John Boutflower of Apperley. John Boutflower remained a widower for eight years, when in the course of the year preceding his father's death he took to himself a second wife, Elianor, daughter of Roger, and sister of William Fewster,[60] afterwards of Ebchester. The MS. pedigree, above referred to, states that he was the father of five children—the Bywell and Tanfield registers lead to the conclusion that there were seven of them:—Robert (died an infant), Mary, Robinson, Nathaniel, William (died an infant), Thomas, and Dorothy. John Boutflower, their father, if not continuously resident at Apperley during his nephew's minority, cannot have been far away. He was churchwarden of Bywell St. Peter in 1727.[61] In 1729 he was at Briansleap in the

[59] Northumberland *Poll Books*.

[60] Surtees, *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 257 *n*.

[61] Bywell St. Peter's Parish Books.

chapelry of Tanfield[62]: in 1733 he was at Riding Mill. In the next year we find a record of the death of his wife, who is commemorated on a monumental stone at Bywell St. Andrew.[63] Above her name occurs that of Robert Robinson, and below it that of her husband, John Boutflower, who died Septemb ye 2nd, 1742, aged fifty-five.

William, the third son of Nathaniel Boutflower, entered the navy at the age of sixteen. He served as midshipman and lieutenant in various ships, becoming in 1732 commander of the *Flamborough*, by commission of his relative, Sir Chaloner Ogle. In 1733 he was transferred to the command of the *Wolf*, and not long after died at Port Antonio (22nd December, 1734).[64] His wife, whose name I have not discovered, and a daughter Mary had predeceased him. He left his estate to his only child, Edward Boutflower, who is described as being in the charge of his uncle, Edward Lumsden of Morpeth.

Mary, daughter of Nathaniel Boutflower, was married to this Edward Lumsden in 1715. They had at least one child who died young. Both husband and wife lived long, the former till 1764. From his will[65] I infer that he was a prosperous and cheery person, and one who evidently had a better notion of providing for his wife than that which prevailed generally in the eighteenth century His business was that of a dyer, and he appears to have won the regard of his fellow-townsmen, being eighteen times appointed one of the bailiffs of Morpeth.

On the death of Nathaniel Boutflower in 1720—in regard to whose estate I find neither will nor administration—his grandson William, only son of Thomas Boutflower, succeeded to the property. He was a boy of ten years old and, as I think, being educated at Hexham. Five years later he lost his mother, and thenceforth probably resided with his grandmother and two surviving sisters at Apperley. The rateable value of the estate was by this time £206.[66] Barbara, the elder sister, remained unmarried till 1748, and then became the wife of Thomas Marshall of Blanchland. She had one

[62] Marriage bond of William Boutflower, 1732.

[63] This stone is now covered by the seating.

[64] Admiralty Registers, *passim*.

[65] Durham Registry.

[66] Bywell St. Peter's Parish Books.

son who bore his father's name. Dorothy, the younger sister, married, as early as 1736, Elrington Reed of Troughend. Her eldest child was christened at Shotley church, in close proximity to Unthank, the home of her husband's uncle, Dr. Christopher Hunter, the well-known antiquary. Elrington Reed died in 1758, his wife Dorothy in 1762. Their memorial stone is in the chancel of Elsdon church, and is at once the funeral monument of themselves and of their whole race. 'The ancient family of Troughend for above eight hundred years,'[67] disposed of its estates soon after their decease.

In 1731 William Boutflower attained his majority, and in the next year married Isabel Fewster,[68] probably a relative of his uncle John's wife. They became the parents of a numerous family. Their married life lasted twenty-six years, during which time Mr. Boutflower took an active share in parochial affairs. His name occurs repeatedly in the vestry-books, and he was evidently the second gentleman in the parish, signing generally after Mr. Fenwick of Bywell hall. He was a commissioner under the Act for repairing the road from Newcastle to the Wansbeck through Ponteland in 1747,[69] and for the enclosure of Shildon moor in 1754.[70] His death took place in 1758. By his will dated two years earlier[71] he left all his land, tenements and messuages, subject to certain charges, to his eldest son.

His family consisted of eleven children, Thomas, Dorothy, Margaret, Sarah, William, Robert, Isabel, Barbara, John, Mary and Elizabeth. The mother was left as their sole guardian, to be superseded in the event of remarriage by their father's loving friends, Robert Johnson of Ebchester[72] and Richard Newton of Eltringham. The portions of the younger sons were £240, those of the daughters £280 apiece. Five at least of the daughters married, Dorothy to Reginald Gibson of Corbridge, Margaret to Anthony Harrison of Ebchester, Isabel to Wilkinson Johnson of Medomsley, Barbara to

[67] So described on the stone at Elsdon.
[68] Lamesley Register.
[69] 22 George II. cap. 7.
[70] 27 George II. cap. 10 (Private Acts).
[71] Durham Registry.
[72] This Robert Johnson died in the same year as his friend William Boutflower; his son Cuthbert, four years later, bequeathed, in case of failure of his own and his sister's issue, Old Ridley to Robert Boutflower and £1,000 to his ten brothers and sisters.

Anthony Fewster of Ebchester, Mary to Nicholas Thornton of Haydon Bridge. The history of Sarah I am unable to trace. Elizabeth died unmarried.

The heavy charges upon the family estate were perhaps more than could be met by even careful management. Tradition says that the eldest son went abroad and returned to find Apperley in other hands.[73] This is borne out by an advertisement in the *Newcastle Courant*, 12th April, 1766,[74] which offers for sale 'all that capital messuage, seat house, and all its messuages, tenements, farmholds, hereditaments, within the manor, township, precincts, and territories of Apperley. Apply, Mr. Reginald Gibson, Corbridge.' Reginald Gibson evidently had power of attorney for his brother-in-law. Thomas Boutflower came back to the district, for he died at Riding Mill in 1773.

By what means Riding Mill became the property of the Boutflowers I am unable to state. The old house bears over its entrance the arms of Errington impaling Carnaby, and the initials T.B., with date 1660. 'Those are the arms of Thomas Boutflower, who built the house,' said the tenant to me some twenty years ago. This they are certainly not. They are almost as certainly the arms of Thomas Errington, in whose days the witches frolicked in the great kitchen.[75] He was succeeded by Paul Errington, whose widow next occupied the house. Then came Edward Browell, who in 1704 brought a suit against the tenants of the barony of Bolbeck to compel them to grind their corn at his mill.[76] This Edward Browell died in 1722, providing for a wife and a nephew, but leaving Riding Mill to his rightful heirs. The next owner was, I think, Robert Robinson, buried at Bywell St. Andrew in 1733. John Boutflower called his two eldest sons after him, and was, as we have seen, commemorated on the same stone.

Our next certain information is that Thomas Boutflower died there in 1773, and that William Boutflower, the eldest of his brothers, voted as its owner in the election of 1774.[77]

The family had been residing at Riding Mill for some time before

[73] Heard by me at Hedley-on-the-hill in 1880. [74] Hodgson's *MSS.*

[75] *Depositions from York Castle* (40 Surt. Soc. publ.), p. 193 *et seq.*

[76] Deputy Keeper of the Records, 41st Report, p. 274.

[77] Northumberland *Poll Books.*

this. 'The Bootflowers came here from Apperley' is the tradition of the district. In accordance with this I find a record of the re-marriage of Isabel Boutflower, the mother of this large family, to Mr. William Bertram of Ryton parish at Bywell St. Andrew in 1771. William Bertram was, I believe, the brother of Catherine Bartram, wife of Robert Surtees of Milkwell-burn, whose will[78] he attested as witness. His nephew, Robert Surtees, seems to have purchased the Apperley estate, which is still the property of his descendants. Mr. Bertram was owner or part-owner of the sword factory at Blackhall mill.[79] It was at Blackhall mill that Elizabeth, the youngest of the large family of Boutflowers, died unmarried in 1779. Her mother and stepfather then removed to Corbridge, whence Mr. Bertram's remains were brought to Ebchester for interment in 1780. Mrs. Isabell Bertram, widow, was buried at Corbridge in 1781.

William Boutflower, the successor of his brother Thomas, had but a short tenure of the Riding Mill estate. He died in 1776, bequeathing his property to his daughters Isabel and Dorothy, leaving Reginald Gibson trustee of the property during their minority.[80] His widow, whose maiden name and style was Elizabeth Jobling of the parish of Bywell St. Peter, re-married Anthony Fewster of Ebchester, surgeon. The two co-heiresses died young, the latter, said to have been a girl of singular beauty, within a fortnight of her majority.

Robert, third son of William Boutflower of Apperley, had died in his youth, and the Riding Mill now passed to the only child of the fourth brother, John. He was a flour-dealer in the parish of All Saints, Newcastle, 'an honest tradesman and of a friendly disposition.'[81] His death and that of Mary Rowell, his wife, had already taken place within one and the same week in 1783.

His daughter Henrietta accordingly succeeded to the Riding Mill property. She married Edward Bennett of Morpeth, and had a plentiful issue, of whom a few years ago Mr. Edmund Bennett of

[78] Durham Registry, 1759.

[79] Durham and Northumberland Parish Register Soc. vol. iv. (Ebchester), *addenda et corrigenda*, p. 4.

[80] Durham Registry.

[81] *Newcastle Chronicle*, 8th March, 1783.

Birmingham was the representative. Riding Mill was sold in 1825.[82] Mrs. Bennett died in 1859.

I proceed now to trace as briefly as possible the history of the families of the younger sons of Nathaniel Boutflower. It will be remembered that John, the second son, left five surviving children. They appear to have been as a rule like their grandfather, affectionate, clannish, and unambitious: though this description will not, I think, apply to the eldest of the party. This was Robinson Boutflower, a Newcastle attorney, better known as a writer of ballads, who died in poverty in 1767.[83] Of Nathaniel, the second surviving son, I find no record; but I have discovered, as I believe, the will of his widow, Mrs. Ann Boutflower of Queen street, Red Lion square. Herself childless, she was the friend and benefactor of many of her husband's kindred.[84] Thomas, the third son, purser of the ship *Aquilo* (captain Chaloner Ogle, commander), died at Exeter in 1775.[85] He left a son, John Eaton, and three daughters. Mary, the elder daughter of John Boutflower, married her cousin Edward, the only surviving child of captain William Boutflower. Dorothy, the younger sister, married Thomas Bennett of Morpeth, and became the mother of the Edward Bennett above mentioned.

Edward Boutflower, had five children, including two sons, John Edward and William, both, like himself, members of Gray's Inn.[86] All died childless, William, the last survivor, in 1815.

John Eaton Boutflower, the last male heir of the family of Nathaniel and Dorothy Boutflower, was partner with a relative called Eaton in a school in Great Tower street, city of London.[87] He acquired a good fortune and retired to Exeter, where he lived in a pleasant house on St. David's hill[88] till his death in 1840. He married his cousin Dorothy, daughter of Edward and Mary Boutflower, but had no issue. His present representative is his great-nephew, Mr. Henry Davy of Exeter, surgeon, who still retains

[82] See advertisement in *Newcastle Chronicle*, 13th August, 1825.
[83] Elsdon Register. [84] Will at Somerset House, 1804.
[85] See will at Exeter (Archdeacon's court), 1775.
[86] Registers of Gray's Inn.
[87] Communicated by a pupil, Mr. L. M. Simon, in 1876.
[88] Communicated by his great-nephew, Henry Davy, M.B., in 1882.

some plate bearing the crest of captain William Boutflower. His grandmother Elizabeth Boutflower was the young lady in whose honour Samuel Coleridge composed one of his early poems.[89] She lived to a great age and died in 1861.

With the death of Mr. John Eaton Boutflower, the Apperley family might have been presumed to be extinguished. That it was not so is, however, proved by a document in the prerogative court at London. This is the will of my great-grandmother, Susanna, second wife of the reverend John Boutflower, vicar of Seamer, Yorks. She was a Peach of the county of Gloucester, and had a portion of £2,000, which, after counsel taken with her three sons, she bequeathed to her only daughter, Mary Anne, wife of Francis Whaley, M.D. of York. The trustees of this property were her brother-in-law, the reverend Samuel Lysons, the father of the authors of the *Magna Britannia*, and 'my husband's kinsman, Mr. John Eaton Boutflower.'

What precisely the relationship was between the two John Boutflowers I have no direct proof. I may, however, venture on a conjecture. John Boutflower, the clergyman, was in earlier life in the navy. He is called in the baptismal registers of his elder family John Boutflower, lieutenant. A note in his college register took me further back, and guided me to his birthplace, Greenwich. He was the son of Marmaduke and Mary Boutflower, and had three elder brothers, of whom the eldest was called William. Was his father Marmaduke the same person as Marmaduke, son of Mr. William Boutflower, merchant, baptized at St. Nicholas's Church, 15th December, 1698? If it were so, the two kinsmen were second cousins once removed. Had the relationship been more distant, I do not think they would have been aware of it.[90]

[89] 'Of stature elegantly small, and clear though colourless complexion': Preface to Coleridge's *Songs of the Pixies*.

[90] This must be received simply as a conjecture. There was an earlier Marmaduke Bootflower, of Gosport, captain of the ship '*Herme*' (Administration at the Prerog. Court of Canterbury, 1707).

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

(A) *Apperley.*—The statement on page 271, line 25, is taken from Mackenzie and Ross's *Durham* (Vol. i., p. 253n). The words used in the charter of foundation (54 Henry III.) are these :—*Praeterea dedi duas ecclesias, scilicet de Herla et de Bywell cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, scilicet capella de Stiford, capella de Shotleya et capella de Appeltreleya.*—Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi., p. 866.

(B) *Arms and Crest.*—These are delineated on the monumental slab of George Boutflower at Whittonstall (1641), on the seal at the foot of Thomas Boutflower's will (1683), on the gravestone of William Boutflower of Newcastle (1712), now covered by the seating, and on a hatchment commemorating Mrs. Elizabeth Boutflower at Bishop Middleham (1688). The last gives the tinctures; Arms, *vert, a chevron with 3 fleur-de-lis in chief or.* Crest, *a fleur-de-lis or.*

(C) *Nathaniel Boutflower of Apperley.* The Rev. G. Samuel of Tow Law, on the authority of the late Mr. Black, general secretary of the English Presbyterian Church, states that at the Midsummer Sessions, 1699, the house of Nathaniel Boutflower at Apperley, near Hedley Woodside, was registered for the worship of God. Nathaniel Boutflower seems to have conformed in the year 1708, when his name first appears in the parish books of Bywell St. Peter—'Mr. Nathaniel Boutflower, Parishioner and Vestryman.'

(D) *Descendants of John Boutflower of Seamer.*—The reverend John Boutflower left issue by his first wife, Mary Eastwood, John Johnson and Henry Johnson; by his second wife, Samuel, Charles, Andrew, and the daughter above mentioned. His male line continued in his eldest and fourth sons. John Johnson Boutflower was the father of Henry Crewe Boutflower, rector of Elmdon, and of John Boutflower, F.R.C.S. The surviving sons of the latter are Andrew Boutflower, surgeon, and Edward Boutflower, solicitor, both of Manchester. Charles Boutflower left issue, Samuel Peach, archdeacon of Carlisle, Charles William Marsh, vicar of Dundry, and Douglas John, chaplain, R.N. The first-named was parent of four sons, William Nolan Boutflower, Acting-Director of Public Instruction, N.W. Provinces; Charles Boutflower, vicar of Terling; Douglas Samuel Boutflower, vicar of Monkwearmouth; and Cecil Henry Boutflower, archdeacon of Furness. The reverend C. W. M. Boutflower left one son, Charles Edward Douglas Boutflower, of Bristol, solicitor.

INDEX.

A

Abajut, France, 'fanaux' at, 132
'Abbot's welcome,' the, a contribution by Tynemouth tenants on visit of Abbot of St. Albans, 27
Abisa, Ochta and, with forty keels, invited to Britain, 239
'Abraham's bosom,' scene erroneously described as, 102*n*
Abraham's choice of a burial place, 181
Acaster Malbis church, 52; description of, 57*n*; 'low side window' in, 57, 59; effigy of founder in, 57
Achaemenian kings at Persepolis, the tombs of, 184
Actonne, Elianore, wife of Christopher Thirkilde, sen., and daughter of Lawrence, 249
Adamson, Horatio A., 'Tynemouth priory to the Dissolution in 1539, with notes of Tynemouth castle,' 22
Adon, Gawin, of Newcastle, merchant, 251
Agen, Corrèze, the 'lanterne des morts,' a niche in a buttress of the choir of the church at, 147
Aghavuller, Kilkenny, round tower at, 155
Agincourt, Thomas Beaufort commanded rearguard at battle of, barbarous treatment of his remains, 108*n*
Aigueperse, France, octagon tower near chapel of St. Sepulchre at, 132
Alaric, 'fanaux' from time of battle between Clovis and, 131
Albery, Earl of Northumberland, 25
Alcock, bishop of Ely, chantry chapel of, 121
Aldburgh, John de Meux desired to be buried in St. Bartholomew's church at, 83
Aldwine, prior of Durham, 24
Alexander, gravestone of the martyr, 95*n*
Allen, Phineas, 252
Allgood, Lancelot, witness to deeds, 254, 255, 264; of Hexham, 279
Allington church, Wilts, 'low side window,' with seat in, 65
Allinson, Thomasine, daughter of Marmaduke, mercer and mayor of Durham, 277; great-niece of bishop Cosin, 277
Alms, 'low side windows' not suitable for distribution of, 55
Alnwick, Boutflowers at, 269
Altar in churches, why asperged, 72
Alwinton, etc., country meeting at, xi
Alyattes, early tumuli at Sardis before, 183
Amiens, vases found in graves of bishops of, 194
Ampleforth, chalice on grave cover at, 120*n*
Ampney Crucis, Gloucestershire, crucifixion in churchyard of, 97*n*
Anderson, Bartram, 251; Clement, witness to a deed, 251; Elizabeth, widow of Francis, 250; Francis, witness to a deed, 251; of Newcastle and the fish story, 250*n*; Henry, 251; merchant of Newcastle, 250; John, witness to a will, 259; Robert of Newcastle, baker and brewer, 266
Andreas, bishop, fine brass of, at Posen, 103*n*
Angels, censing, 100
Angers cathedral church, discovery in, of leaden coffin of Mary of Brittany, wife of Louis I., 114
Angles settled in Britain, 238
Angul or Oghgull, island of, 241
Annual report, ix
Anost, funeral vases placed in graves at, 197
Antigny, 'lanterne des morts' at, 135
Antrim, round tower at, 155
Apperley: estate, sale of, 282; purchased by Robert Surtees, 283; house of Nathaniel Boutflower at, registered for worship, 286
Apperley, early history of, obscure, but prior and convent of Hexham held homage of John de Normanvill for, 271; Blanchland abbey endowed with appropriation of, 271
Appleby, Lancelot, witness to a deed, 256
Appleton, Edmund, chalice and wafer on brass of, 119*n*
Apulia, Simon de, bishop of Exeter, effigy of, with crozier, 118*n*
Aquablanca, bishop Peter de, fine early tomb of, in Hereford cathedral church, 105

Aquilo, Captain Chaloner Ogle, commander of ship, 284
Aran islands, the, 240*n*
Archbald, Thomas, witness to a deed, 264
Architecture, R. J. Johnson's Early French, 153
Ardley church, Oxfordshire, 'low side window' in, 45
Ardmore, Waterford, round tower at, 155
'Arick bourne,' Newcastle, 250
Armagh, Ochiltrees in the diocese of, 244
'Armenseelen,' the German, 167
Arms and crest of Boutflowers, 286
Arms of Errington impaling Carnaby, 282
Arms of George Boutflower of Apperley, 273; of Greys of Howick on seal, 255
Armstrong, Lord, death of, xi.; John, of Newcastle, 256; Thomas, of Newcastle, innkeeper, 263
Arras, tower formerly in churchyard of Sainte Chandelle at, 171
Arrows, crest of a sheaf of, 252
Arrowsmythe, Thos., witness to a deed, 251
Asia, people in, will not defile fire by burning bodies, 190
Asia Minor, earliest tumuli in, 183
Assyrian mode of burial, 182
Aston, William de Melton, desired to be buried in church of All Saints at, 84
Atcham, near Shrewsbury, leper hospital at, 53; church, 'low side windows' in, 53, 57, 60, 221.
Athelwold, bishop of Winchester, 163; his poetical letter to his successor Elphege, 163
Athens, burial by inhumation at, in time of Cecrops, 185; bodies of living human victims at, decked with flowers, 185
Atkinson, Anna and Elizabeth, of Pandon Bank, Newcastle, spinsters, 265, 266; Anna, niece of Anna, 266; Dorothy, formerly Liddel, 266; witness to a will, 266; Elizabeth, 266; Elizabeth, of East King street, South Shields, spinster, will of, 266; bequests, 266; Elizabeth, her niece, 266; Leaviss, 266; Margaret, 266; Ralph Hall, 266; Robert, 263; Stephen, of Windmill Hills, county Durham, and Newcastle, insurance broker, and Sarah, his wife, 265, 266; William, 255
Auckland St. Andrew's church, 205, 215, 219, 234; formerly remains of cross in churchyard, 96*n*; matrix of brass of early dean in. 97; 'low side window' and 'high end window,' 205; cardinal Langley introduced stalls into, 205
Audley, bishop of Salisbury, chantry chapel of, 121
Augustine's mission, 96*n*
Aumbedine, Nichole de; figure of, in Taplow church, Bucks, 98
Austria, 'lanternes des morts' in, 147
Auxerre, council of, 117
Avenel, Britellus, effigy of, in Buxted church, Sussex, 98
Avioth, Meuse, France, fifteenth century chapel at entrance of graveyard, 149; semi-chapel, semi-lantern, 180
Aycliffe, no evidence of 'low side window' at, 199
Aydon, see Adon

B

Babylonian mode of burial, 182
Bag Enderby, cross in churchyard of, 97*n*
Bainbridge, Christopher, solicitor, of South Shields, witness to a will, 266
Bamberg, chalice, etc., on effigy of Eberard de Rabenstein at, 120*n*
Bamburgh, men of, took flight at Flodden, 40
Baptism, sacrament of, 71
Barkas, Anthony, 263; will of, 263; bequests to wife and children, 263; of Newcastle, butcher, and Margaret, his wife, 261; of Newcastle, tailor, son of William, 263; John, of Newcastle, 263; Margaret, relict of Anthony, 263; Robert, 263; of Newcastle, cordwainer, 263; William, 263; witness to a deed, 251; son of Anthony, 263; Alderman T. P., 264*n*
Barker, Cuthbert, 267
Barnard Castle church, Richard III. chief contributor to works in, 206; 'low side window' in, 45, 59*n*, 206; unusual position of, 206; chalice, etc., on grave cover, 120*n*
Bar-sur-Aube, France, 'low side window' at, 146
Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, effigy of, with crozier, 118*n*
Barton, Simon de, archdeacon of Stowe, chalice found in tomb of, 115
Bartrame, Elizabeth, widow, 249
Bartrem, Robt., merchant, of Newcastle, 249 (see also Bertram)
Bates, rev. Thomas, rector of Whalton, daughter of Richard Clutterbuck married to, 267; William, witness to a will, 258
Batesonne, Robert, witness to a deed, 251
Batty, Francis, of Newcastle, 254
Baugy Bridge, sir William Bowes slain at, 80
Bayeux, 'lanterne des morts' at, 135
Beacons, Irish round towers used as, 162

Beaufort, bishop, chantry chapel of, 121
Beaufort, Thomas, third son of John of Gaunt, embalmed body of, in Bury St. Edmund's abbey church, 108; commanded rearguard at Agincourt, 108*n*; 'body before re-interment cut and mangled,' 108*n*
Beaulieu, Hants, Early English pulpit at, 55*n*
Beaumont, Lewis, bishop of Durham, matrix of brass of, 101
Beckford church, Gloucestershire, 'low side window' in, 45, 59
Beckington, bishop of Wells, great builder and benefactor, chantry chapel of, 122
Bedale church, herse in, 125
Bedingfield, Thomas, a local poet, witness to a will, 263, 262*n*
Bedyll, letter of, to Cromwell, 62
Bek, bishop, made Lanchester church collegiate, 230
Beleth, Dom John, concerning bells, 59
Belgium, 'Hand of Providence' common in, 99
Bells, the ringing of, 72; 'low side windows' not for ringing of hand, through, 56; Durandus and Dom John Beleth concerning, 59
Bennett, Edward, of Morpeth, married Henrietta Boutflower, 283; Edmund, of Birmingham, 283; Thomas, of Morpeth, married Dorothy Boutflower, 284
Benwell, last prior of Tynemouth retired to, his summer residence, 34
Berkeley church, Gloucestershire, little quatrefoil 'low side window' in, 45, 56, 57, 147
Bertha, tenth abbess of Fontevrault, 151
Bertram, Catherine, wife of Robert Surtees of Milkwellburn, 283; William, of Ryton, married Isabel Boutflower, 283; Mr., buried at Corbridge, 283 (see also Bartram)
Berwick-on-Tweed, extract from will of Thomas de Ridell, sen., burgess of, 79; Cuthbert Musgrave of, 250
Beverley St. John, Thomas Walkyngton, archdeacon of Cleveland, etc., to be buried in, 79
Bewyk in Holderness, John de Meux of, 83
Billingham, county Durham, country meeting at, xi; church, sanctus bell-cot on chancel, 54*n*; chancel of, 'inartistically re-built,' 199
Birckbecke, Francis, witness to a deed, 251
Birghitta, St. (see St. Brigitta)
Bishops, chalice never shown on effigies of, in relief, 118*n*
Bishop Middleham church, 'low side window' in, of same date as wall, 204, 229; Elizabeth Boutflower buried at, 277; Boutflower hatchment in, 286
Bishopton church, nearly entirely re-built, 199
Bishop Wearmouth church so altered that no evidence of 'low side window,' 200
Bitton, bishop of Exeter, objects discovered in grave of, 115; bishop William de, incised effigy of, in Wells cathedral church, 101
Blackett, John E., 263; William, of Newcastle, merchant, 252
Blackhall mill, sword factory at, 283
Bladingdone, John de, and wife, effigies of, at East Wicklam, Kent, 97
Blagden, Lionel, of Newcastle, merchant, 253, 254
Blakeney, Robert, last prior of Tynemouth, 34
Blakiston, Marmaduke, of Newton hall, prebendary of Durham, 277
Blanche of Castille, 192
Blanchland, abbey of, endowed with appropriations of Apperley, etc., 271; chalice and wafer on grave cover at, 120*n*
Bohemia, graveyard chapels in, 169, 170
Bohun, Johanna, linen crosses discovered in coffin of, 109
Bohuslän, Sweden, 246
Bolbeck, suit against tenants of barony of, relating to grinding corn, 282
Boldon, county Durham, tenements at, 265; church, 225, 232
Booltflower, see Boutflower
Boothe, bishop, effigy of, at Exeter, 118*n*
Bosco, William, son of, 271
Boston, Lincolnshire, lantern tower of St. Botolph's church at, 164; effigies of Walter Pescod and his wife at, 103
Botzen, 'Todtenleuchten' at, 174, 180
Boughtflower, John, 269 (see also Boutflower)
Bourne, John, 267; of Newcastle, cordwainer, 266
Bouteilles, Normandy, crosses discovered at, 112; l'abbé Cochet's description, 112
Boutflowers at Alnwick, 269
Boutflowers of Apperley, 269; bequests to, 272; name originally spelt Bultflour or Bulteflour, 269; in Bermondsey, 269; at Brancepeth, 269; at Durham, 270; of Hart, 269; of Newbiggin-by-the-sea, 269; at Newcastle, 269; in St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, 263; at Sheerness, 269; at Whickham, 269; Riding Mill property of, 282

Boutflower [Booltflower, Boutflour, Bootflower, Bountfloure, Boughtflower, Bultflow, Bultflour, Bulteflour, Bultfloure], Agnes, 269; became wife of Odonel Carnaby, of Portgate, 271; Alice, 277; Andrew, of Manchester, surgeon, 286; Anne's bequest to, 272; Ann, of Queen street, Red Lion square, London, widow of Nathaniel, will of, 284; Barbara, married Thomas Marshall, of Blanchland, 280; daughter of William, 281; married Anthony Fewster of Ebchester, 282; Cecil Henry, archdeacon of Furness, 286; Charles, 286; vicar of Terling, 286; Charles Edward Douglas, of Bristol, solicitor, 286; Charles William Marsh, rector of Dundry, 286; Dorothy, 272, 276, 279: married Thomas Bennett, of Morpeth, 284; married John Ornsby, of Newcastle, draper, 276; married Elrington Reed, 281; daughter of William, 281; married Reginald Gibson, of Corbridge, 281; Douglas Samuel, vicar of Monkwearmouth, 286; on the Boutflowers of Apperley, 269; Edward, son of captain William, married cousin Mary, 284; of Manchester, solicitor, 286; Elizabeth, 276; daughter of William, 281; Geoffrey, of Apperley, married second daughter of John Fenwick, of Wallington, 271; George, purchased tenement at Hindley, 273; monumental slab of, 286; of Apperlie, lessee of Bywell fishery, 273; monumental stone of, 273; of Bywell St. Peter, marriage of, 274; Hannah, 277; Henrietta, married Edward Bennett of Morpeth, 283; Henry Crewe, rector of Elmdon, 286; Isabel, 272; married William Bertram of Ryton, 283; daughter of William, 287; married Wilkinson Johnson, of Medomsley, 281; Jane, 277; betrothed to Benjamin Wilson, 278; John, 269, 271; churchwarden of Warden, name of, on chalice, 274: John, of Apperley, son of captain Nathaniel, married Mrs. Jane Vasy, 279; married Elianor Fewster, 279; children of, 279; churchwarden of Bywell St. Peter, 279; at Briansleap, 279; at Riding Mill, 280; death of wife, 280; John, witness to a deed, 273; at Pembroke Hall, and on books of Christ's College, Cambridge, 273; at college with Milton, 273; chaplain to bishop Morton, 273; vicar of Kirk Whelpington and Warden, 273; mason at York Minster, 269; John, son of William, 281;

Boutflower—*continued.*

John, vicar of Seamer, Yorks, 269 descendants of, 286; father of rev. Henry Crewe, 286; lieutenant John, son of Marmaduke and Mary, 285; John, F.R.C.S., 286; John Douglas, chaplain, R.N., 286; John Eaton, last male heir of Nathaniel and Dorothy, 284; married cousin Dorothy, 284; partner in school in London, 284; retired to Exeter, where he died, 284; Julian, 271; Margaret, daughter of William, 281; married Anthony Harrison of Ebchester, 281; Marmaduke, 277; of Gosport, captain of ship *Herme*, 285; Mary, 279; daughter of John, married cousin Edward, 284; Mary Anne, daughter of rev. John, married Dr. Whaley, of York, 285; rev. Samuel Lysons, one of her trustees, 285; Mary, daughter of William, 281; daughter of Nathaniel married Edward Lumsden, 280; Mehitabel, 276; Nathaniel, 276, 279; captain Nathaniel of Apperley, 278; married Dorothy Ogle of Kirkley, 278; Betty, daughter of, 278; Thomas, John, William, and Mary, children of, 278; Nathaniel, of Apperley, house of, registered for worship, 286; parishioner and vestryman of Bywell St. Peter, 286; Ralph, 272; Raphe, bailiff of Dunwich, 269; Richard, of Hedley-on-the-hill, 272, 273; Ralph, son of, 272; Richard, grandson of, 272; Robert, 270, 279; son of William, 280, 281; bequest of Old Ridley to, 281*n*; Robinson, 279; of Newcastle, attorney, a writer of ballads, 284; Samuel, 286; Samuel Peach, archdeacon of Carlisle, 286; Sarah, daughter of William, 281; Susanna, formerly Peach, daughter of rev. John, vicar of Seamer, will of, 285; Thomas, 279, 282; bequest to, 275; estate of, 275; will of, 276; buried at Whittonstall, 276; Jane, wife of, 276; son of William, 276; son of captain Nathaniel married Mrs. Margaret Lee, 279; voting as a freeholder, 279; William, Elizabeth, Barbary, and Dorothy, children of, 279; son of William, of Apperley, 274, 275, 281; Mr. John Davis, an ejected minister, preached at the house of, 275; of Pokerley, 270; purser of ship *Aquilo*, 284; died at Exeter, 284; Thomasine, 277; William, 279; held land at Kibblesworth and Pokerley, 270; witness to a deed, 273; monumental stone of, at Heverland, Norfolk, 269; of Lintz, 270; married

Boutflower—*continued.*
Isabel Fewster, 281; commissioner for roads, etc., 281; death of, 281; will, 281; left eleven children, 281; of Newcastle, merchant, 285; William, son of captain Nathaniel, commander of *Flamborough*, 280; of *Wolf*, 280; died at Port Antonio, 280; Edward, son of, 280; Mary, daughter of, 280; married Thomasine Allinson, 277; admitted to Newcastle Hostmen's Company, 277; sheriff of Newcastle, 277; William, son of Thomas, 280; apprenticed to Benezer Durant, mercer, 276; admitted to Merchants' Company, Newcastle, 276; married Elizabeth Hutton, 276; son of William, 277, 281; of Apperley, 274; of Newcastle, gravestone of, 286; William Nolan, 286
Bower, Robert, witness to a deed, 254
Bowes, Henry, of Newcastle, merchant, 251; Henry, senior, witness to a deed, 251; John, of Newcastle, merchant, 252; Josa, 253; Matilda, wife of William del, extract from will of, 80; Ralph, 252; Robert, 251; sir William, knight, slain at Baugy Bridge, 80
Bowls for tapers in chantry chapel, Westminster abbey church, 126
Boxwell church, Gloucestershire, 'low side window' in, 59
Brack, James, of Washington, county Durham, 265
Brahe, Berger Petersen, and his wife, parents of St. Brigitta, effigies of, 102*n*
Braithwaite, Dorothy, of Newcastle, spinster, 264
Brampton Abbots, Herefordshire, niched base of churchyard cross, 144
Brancepeth, Boutflowers at, 270; church, sanctus bell-cot at, 54*n*
Brandesburton, John de St. Quinton desired to be buried in church of, 83; brass in choir of, 84*n*
Brantyngham, bishop of Exeter, chantry chapel of, 121
Bredon church, Worcestershire, grave cover in, 104
Bresse, vases still placed in graves at, 196
Bretagne, monument of princesses Alix and Yolande de, in church of Villeneuve, near Nantes, 128
Breteuil, France, cemetery chapel at, 153
Briansleap, 279
Bridport, bishop of Salisbury, tomb of, 100
Brigitta, St., see St. Brigitta
Brigittine house of Sion, 65
Brinkburn, colonel George Fenwick of, death of, 274
British Archaeological Association, meeting of, in Newcastle, xii
Brittany, first apostles of, 138; lead coffin of Mary of, discovered, 114
Brixen, light tower in cathedral yard, etc., 172, 180
Broadwas, Worcestershire, niched base of churchyard cross, 144
Broadwater church, Sussex, curious little unglazed window in porch of, 228
Bromfeld, John, lord of, 82
Bromley, Ralph de, vicar of Norton, extract from will of, 80
Browell, Edward, his suit against tenants of barony of Bolbeck, 282
Brown, Lawrence, tailor, 251; William, F.S.A., on Mount Grace, xi
Browne, Thomas, witness to a deed, 261
Broxbourne, Herts, chalice on brass of a priest at, 119*n*
Bruce, Robert de, priest, grave cover of, at Chelsfield church, Kent, 99
Bruges cathedral church, brass of Joris de Munter and his wife at, 108
Brussels, effigies of Jakemins Doxnen, his wife and son at, 99; chalice on brass of, 119*n*; brass of John and Gerard de Heere at, 103*n*
Bubwith, bishop of Wells, chantry chapel of, 122
Bucknell church, Oxfordshire, 'low side window' in, 59
Buckton, Thomas de, canon of York, will of, 76
Bulkham, Andrew de, 249
Bull's head, a, on a seal, 251
Bulowe, brasses of Godfrey and Frederic de, at Schwerin, 102*n*, 118*n*; bishops Ludolph and Henry de, brasses of, at Schwerin, 102*n*
Bultflow, Bultflour, Bulteflour, etc., see Boutflower
Bumbeshti in the Carpathians, Roman inscription found at, 268
Burdon, George, of Newcastle, 259; Thomas, 265
Burghwalays, parish church of, 85
Burial, Egyptian and Jewish practices of, 181; Babylonian and Assyrian, 182
Burlingham, South, see South Burlingham
Burnett, William, of Newcastle, gentleman, 267
Burnop [Burnup], William, 265; of Newcastle, 266
Burrell, Robert, witness to a deed, 266
Burton, Agnes, wife of Sir Roger de, extract from will of, 81
Bury St. Edmund's abbey church, golden crucifix discovered with embalmed body of Thomas Beaufort in, 108

Buxted church, Sussex, cross enclosing figure at, 98
Byfeild, John, of Newcastle, gentleman, premises of, 266
Bywell, Blanchland abbey endowed with appropriation of, 271 ; Mr. John Davis. ejected minister of, 275 ; fishery, George Boutfloure of Apperlie and Lancelot Newton of Stokfeld, lessees of, 273
Bywell St. Peter, given by St. Albans to Durham, 25 ; John Boutflower, churchwarden of, 279 ; William Boutflower, parishioner and vestryman of, 286
Bywell and Bolbeck, barony of, 273

C

'Cadavers,' effigies representing, 119*n*
Cale cross, Newcastle, 253*n*
Callum, Thomas Gery, a young surgeon, barbarously treated remains of Thomas Beaufort, 108*n*
Cambridge, Christ's college, John Boultflower on books of, 273
Candelabra, property of light as represented in medieval, 85 ; at St. Bavon's, Ghent, said to have belonged to St. Paul's, London, 126
Candles, lighted on Saturdays, 121 and *n* ; and torches to be burnt about bodies of dead, 78
Candlesticks, paschal, at Durham, 87 ; cresting of small, in St. Denis's church, Paris, 127
Cantal, France, many 'fanaux' in the, 131
Cantelupe, Walter de, silver paten found in grave of, in Worcester cathedral church, 115
Canterbury cathedral church, rude cross in coffin of King Henry IV. in, 107
'Caoinechair,' reader of Slane, 162
Capillan, Jacob, chalice on effigy of, at Nordhausen, 119*n*
Carausius, *chi-rho* on inscription recording, 95*n*
Carlill, Johanna, wife of Christopher Thirkelde, and daughter of John, armiger, 249
Carling croft, Newcastle, Greater and Little, 250
Carlisle cathedral church, Decorated pulpit at, 55*n* ; rev. Samuel Peach Boutflower, archdeacon of, 286 ; Dr. Musgrave, dean of, 277
Carnaby, arms of Errington impaling, 282
Carnaby, Odonel, of Portgate, Agnes Boutflower became wife of, 271 ; William, witness to a deed, 266
Carnabys of Portgate, bequest to, 272
Carnutas, 'fanal' at, 165
Carr, Ralph, vicar of Warden, 274 ; William, of Newcastle, merchant, 250
Carstile, Edmund, witness to a deed, 250
Carthage, council of, 117
Carver, C., presented German hunting rifle of about 1830, xvii
Cashel, Tipperary, round tower at, 155
Casmiri, effigy of cardinal, at Cracow, 118*n*
Castledermot, Kildare, round tower at, 155
Catacombs, Roman, 95*n*
Catechumens, oil of the, 70
Catstane, the, at Kirkliston, 238
Catton church, Hugh de Tunstede, rector, to be buried in, 81
Cecrops, burial by inhumation at Athens in time of, 185
Celfrouin, 'lanterne des morts' at, 135 ; 'fanal,' one of the earliest, at, 178
Cemetery chapels, 148 *et seq.*
Censing angels, 100
Cervetri, early Etruscan tomb at, 183
Chaldaea, sacred land of, 182
Chalices, very rarely represented on ecclesiastical effigies in relief, 118 ; never with bishops, 118*n* ; and patens, in tombs, of silver, 115 ; discovered in graves of archbishops of York, 110 ; in Chichester cathedral church, 111 ; and missal, on brass, 105
Chalons-sur-Marne, effigies of Johan Mingen and his wife at, 102*n* ; incised effigies of Eudeline de Chaubrant and her two daughters at, 102 ; chalice on brass of priest at, 119*n*
Chambers, Richard, 265
Chantry chapels, 120
'Chapelles isolées,' 148
Chapels, circular, 168
Chapman Oswald, mayor of Newcastle, 250 and *n*
Charles II., pardon by, of Robert Ellison, 256*n*
Charlton, Charles, of Newcastle, 266 ; Mark, of Newcastle, 262
Château Larcher, near Poitiers, hollow column in churchyard of, 131
Chater, James, of Newcastle, weaver, his wife and William, his son, weaver, 260 ; William, of Newcastle, weaver, premises of, 266 ; of Gowden's hole, Northumberland, weaver, 260 (see also Chayter)
Chaubrant, Eudeline de, and her daughters, incised effigies of, at Chalons-sur-Marne, 102
Chayter, James, of Newcastle, yeoman, 259 (see also Chater)

Checkendon church, Oxfordshire, 'low side window' in, 45
Chelsfield church, Kent, grave cover of Robert de Brun at, 99
Cherlieu, 'fanal' in cemetery of abbey of, 165
Cheshire men took flight at Flodden, 40
Chester, Early English pulpit at St. Werburgh's abbey, 55*n*
Chester, Rev. T. H., 'low side window' in Easington church filled with stained glass in memory of, 213
Chester-le-Street church, 232, probable reason why no 'low side window' in, 204
Chesters, excavations at, 268 (see also *Cilurnum*)
Chichele, archbishop, grave-slab cross at Higham Ferrars, commemorating parents of, 98
Chichester cathedral church, silver chalices discovered in stone coffins in, 111
Chinese mode of burial, 184
Chinnor church, Oxfordshire, brass of a priest in, 97
Chi-rho, the, on gravestones, 95
Christ, figures of, on tombs in Exeter cathedral church, 104, 105
Christ Church priory, Hampshire, figure of Trinity in Salisbury chapel in, 104
Christian origin of Irish round towers, 159
Christianity, hostility of, to cremation, 290
Churches, etc., consecration of, 72
Churchyard crosses, with niches for lamps, 140 *et seq.*; only existing one in county Durham, 96*n*
Cicero, speaks of inhumation having been practised at Athens, 185
Cilurnum, excavations in Roman camp at, xii, 9
'Cimetières, colonnes creuses des,' 129 *et seq.*
'Circular chapels,' 168
Clark, Mrs., wife of Edmund, of Newcastle, bequest to, 266
Clavering, Euphemia de, effigy of, in Staindrop church, 127; James, 251; James of Axwell Houses, county Durham, 252; Joan of Callaly, wife of John Fenwick of Wallington, 271
Clayton, Mr. J. B., death of, xi
Clement VI., pope, bull of, discovered at Lewes, 82*n*
Clementson, George, of Shieldfield, 266
Clennell, Percival, 255
Clephan, R. Coltman, on medieval engines of war, etc., xii
Cleveland, Thomas Walkyngton archdeacon of, 79
Clixby, Lincolnshire, chalice on grave cover at, 120*n*
Cloictheach, a bell tower, 162; of Slane, burnt by Danes, 162
Clondalkin, Dublin, round tower at, 155
Clones, Monaghan, round tower at, 155
Close, Newcastle, a house in the, 249
Clovis, 'fanaux' from time of, 131
Cloyne, Cork, round tower at, 155
Cluni, Peter the venerable, abbot of, 165
Clutterbuck, Richard, Warkworth, gentleman, property in Pudding Chare transferred to, 267; will of, 267; bequests, 267; daughters, one married to rev. W. Bates, 267; John, of Warkworth, son and heir of Richard, 267; Margaret and Mary, daughters of Richard, 267
Clutterbucks, pedigree of, 267*n*
Cnut, king, Trimdon, starting point of, for barefoot pilgrimage to Durham, 230
Cochet, l'abbé, his description of crosses discovered at Bouteilles, Normandy, 112; discoveries in graves opened by him, 192
Cockfield church, two 'low side windows' in, 207; one of the smallest in Durham county, 207; two additional altars in, 207, 219
Coffins, cruciform leaden plates discovered in, 108; linen crosses in, 109; protective symbols on or in, 107
Coilantogle in Callander, 244
Coleridge, Samuel, wrote poem in honour of Elizabeth Boutflower, 285
Collingwood, Dan., witness to a deed, 264
Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, 240*n*
'Colonnes creuses des cimetières,' 129 *et seq.*
Colwall, Herefordshire, niched base of cross at, 144
Comana, France, cemetery chapel at, 154
Commonwealth, wrought copper candelabra belonging to St. Paul's, London, sold in time of, 126
Complyn, William, brass of, in Wike church, near Winchester, 105
Confession, 'low side windows' not for, 62
Confessors removed, 65
Confirmation, office of, 71
Coniscliffe church, 230, 232; fine position of, on Tees, 225; no evidence of 'low side window' as partly rebuilt, 199
Consecration, crosses, 69; of churches, etc., 72
Constable, Marmaduke le, extracts from will of, 83

Constantine and his successors, laws against cremation in time of, 186
Conyers, Robert, of Sockburn, extract from will of, 80
Cook, John, of Newcastle, 266; premises in Newcastle belonging to representatives of, 265; Samuel, 257
Coombes church, Sussex, 'low side window' in, 147, 229
Corbridge, cup forming part of shaft of cross on grave cover at, 120*n*
Cordiner or Cordwainer Raw, Newcastle, 253*n*
Cosin, bishop, Thomasine Allinson, great-niece of, 277
Coulson, Jane, 258; John Blenkinsopp, of Jesmond, 258, 259; John Blenkinsopp, nephew of, 258; Margaret, 258; Robert Lisle, 258; William, 258; of Newcastle, merchant, 258; will of, 258; Mary, his wife, 258; bequests to children, 258
Courtney, Hugh, earl of Devon, chantry chapel of, in Exeter cathedral church, 121
Couteren, Ian Van Den, chalice on effigy of, 119*n*
Cowen, Joseph, death of, xi
Cracow, effigy of cardinal Casmiri at, 118*n*
Cradock, Thomas, attorney general of bishopric of Durham, 276
Cramlington, William, mayor of Newcastle, 263
Cranley, archbishop, effigy of, with crozier, at Oxford, 118*n*
Craster, John, witness to a deed, 251
Crathorne, etc., country meeting at, xi
Crauden, prior, chapel at Ely, 55
Creighton, Dr., bishop of London, death of, xii
Cremation, impossible with Medes and Persians, 185; laws of Constantine against, 186; constraining motive for, a religious one, 186; universal practice of all Teutonic nations, 190; hostility of Christianity to, 190
Cromwell, letter of Thomas Bedyll to, 64
Crosby Garret church, Westmorland, two-light 'low side window' in, 45, 66, 179, 212
Cross, the uses of the, 72; in Bag Enderby churchyard, Lincolnshire, 97*n*; sign of the, over the graves of the dead, 95; street in Newcastle called the, 255
Crosses, effigies within, 97; churchyard, with niches for lamps, 140; churchyard, only existing one in county Durham, 96*n*; leaden, discovered, 113; linen, in coffins, 109; of wax, in coffins, 114
Crow, Robert, of Newcastle, merchant, 267
Crucifix built into wall of Romsey abbey church, 142; of jet found in coffin at old Malton, 115
Crucifixion in churchyard of Ampney Crucis, 97*n*
Cruth-Loda, the god, 137
Crystal cup and cover, etc., found in stone coffin at Hill Court, Gloucestershire, 115
Cues, effigy of Cardinal Cusanos at, 118*n*
Cullent, France, 'fanaux' at, 132
Cullick, sister of Colonel George Fenwick of Brinkburn, 274
Cunningham, John, the poet, house in Newcastle, 264*n*
Curator's report, xvi
Curtes, William, brass of, at South Burlingham, with representation of chalice and wafer, 119*n*
Cusanos, cardinal, effigy of, at Cues, 118*n*
Cyrus, tomb of, 184

D

Dalston, Henry, 278; sheriff of Newcastle, 267
Dalton-le-Dale church, note of, 208; unusual position of 'low side window' in, 208, 215, 217, 219; gifts to, 80; light of Blessed Mary in, 80
Damme, chalice on effigy of Johan de Fonte at, 120*n*
Danes destroyed Tynemouth monastery, 23; burnt 'Cloictheach' of Slane, 162
Darius, rock cut tomb of, 184
Darlington church, reason why no 'low side window' in, 204; sedilia in, 214
Darwen Crook, Newcastle, tenement in, 259, 260
Daudre, John, extract from will of, 78
Davell, George, of Newcastle, 250
Davidson, John, of Newcastle, 263; witness to a deed, 263; Thomas, of Newcastle, 261, 263; Thomas, junr., witness to a deed, 262
Davis, John, minister, ejected from Bywell, 275; preached in different houses, 275
Davison, Anne of Newcastle, widow, 266, 267, 278
Davy, Mr. Henry, of Exeter, 284; grandson of Elizabeth Boutflower, 285
Dawson, Mr. William, 278
Dean, Newcastle, property in the, 264
Dead, mode of disposing of bodies of, 181; candles, etc., to be burnt about, 78; sign of the cross above or over graves of the, 95

Death bell, the, 61
Deification of dead Roman emperors, 189
Dendy, F. W., on Dr. Embleton, 1
Denmark, known as Eygotland, 243; Runic incriptions in, 243
Dennis, Thomas, witness to a deed, 251
Dent, Christ., 252
Denton church utterly destroyed, 199
Denton, Henry, chalice on brass of, at Higham Ferrars, 119*n*
Depeden, John, lord of Helagh, extracts from will of, 85; to be buried in abbey church of Helaghpark, 85; Elizabeth, his wife, 85
Desertoghill church, county Londonderry, St. Columba patron of, 240*n*
Devenish, Fermanagh, round tower at, 155
'Dextera Dei,' symbol of, common in France and Belgium, 99
Dinsdale church, no evidence of 'low side window' in, as it has been 'restored,' 199
Dixon, D. D., presents from, to museum, xvii; on Harbottle castle, etc., xi; rev. R. W., of Warkworth, death of, xi
Dobson, Anthony, witness to a deed, 251; Gilbert, of Newcastle, 255; Thomas, witness to a deed, 251
Donations to museum, xvii
Donfrith on pre-Conquest cross discovered at Wensley church, 109
Donoughmore, Meath, round tower at, 155, 178
Douglas, said to have been a prisoner at Neville's Cross, at Tynemouth, 37; John, witness to a deed, 254; [Dugles,] Jeffrey, yeoman, 251
Downton church, Wiltshire, 'low side window' in, 44, 57
Doxnen, priest, chalice on brass of, at Brussels, 119*n*; Jakemins, his wife and son, effigies of, at Brussels, 99
Dun Aengus, on isle of Aran, 237
Dundry, revd. Charles William Marsh Boutflower, rector of, 286
Dunfermline, body of Malcolm and his son, said to have been removed from Tynemouth to, 26
Dunn, Anthony, of Newcastle, butcher, premises of, 266
Dun Oghill, on isle of Inishmore, 240
Dunwich, Raphe Booltflower, one of bailiffs of, 269
Durandus, 59 *et seq.*
Durant, Benezer, witness to a deed, 253; mercer, William Boutflower apprenticed to, 276
Durham, Marmaduke Allinson, mayor of, 277; Robert de Mowbray, taken prisoner to, 36; Boutflowers at, 270; bishops of: Kellawe, 80; William of St. Calais, who expelled secular canons from, 220; William Wilson, spiritual chancellor of, 277; Thomas Cradock, attorney general of bishopric of, 276; prebendaries of, Marmaduke Blakiston, 277; Dr. Musgrave, 277
Durham cathedral church, contents of coffin of St. Cuthbert at, 109: matrix of brass of bishop Beaumont in, 101; burial of Ralph lord Nevill in, 76; William, the engineer, built Galilee, 231; south window of, 230; the Paschal candlestick at, 87; description of, 87; chapter house, bishop Kellawe buried in, 80*n*
Durham churches: St. Giles's, 231; unusual position of 'low side window' in, at north-east angle of nave, 210; St. Margaret's, 231; 'low side window' in, 59*n*; at west end of south aisle, 210; St. Mary-le-Bow and St. Nicholas's, both rebuilt and so no evidence left of 'low side windows,' 199; St. Oswald's, utterly destroyed in seventeenth century, 210; so now no trace of 'low side window,' 199; St. Mary in the South Bailey, 'low side wide window' in, 'an unmitigated fraud,' 212; St. Nicholas's, utterly destroyed in nineteenth century, 210; St. Oswald's, 'low side window' of, destroyed, 210
Durham county, sanctus bell-cots in, 54*n*; 'low side windows' still remaining in, 197; churches in which no trace of 'low side windows,' 199, 201; only churchyard cross in, 96*n*

E

Eagles' heads, a fess between three, mullet for difference, on seal, 254
Easby abbey church, ancient pulpit at, 55*n*
Easington church, had originally east window of five lights, 225; 'low side windows' in, 209, 212, 215; one formerly covered by gravestone of archdeacon Pye, 212; lower part rebated for shutter, 213; now filled with stained glass in memory of rev. T. H. Chester, 213; William Mennevill to be buried in aisle of church at, 78
Easter sepulchre, combined tomb and, in Redmarshall church, 224
East Wickham church, Kent, effigies in, 97
Ebchester church, all windows in, adapted for 'low side windows,' 202

Edburton church, Sussex, two 'low side windows' in, 64*n*
Eden, Robert, 256
Edinburgh, lepers not allowed to quit Greenside hospital on pain of death, 50*n*
Edington, bishop, chantry chapel of, 121
Edlingham church given by St. Albans to Durham, 25
Edward I. and his bride Margaret at Tynemouth priory, 37
Edward II., king, tomb of, in Gloucester cathedral church, has bracket for lamp, 126; and his queen, at Tynemouth, 37
Edward III. at Tynemouth, 37
Edward VII., proclamation of king, ix.
Edwards, Samuel, of Newcastle, weaver, 260; will of, 260; Ann his wife, 260; Samuel, his son, bequest to, 260; Thomas, of Newcastle, weaver, and Mary, his wife, 260
Edwin built wooden church at Tynemouth, 22; slain at Heathfield, 22
Effigies within crosses, 97; of founder in Acaster Malbis church, 57*n*; in Redmarshall church, 224; with horned head-dress, 223
Eggleston church, rebuilt on new site, 200
Egyptian mode of disposing of bodies of dead, earliest, 181
Ela, countess of Salisbury, cross and beads of, discovered in tomb at Lacock abbey, Wilts, 108
Elifield church, Oxfordshire, 'low side window' with seat in, 65
Elkstone church, Gloucestershire, cross with tabernacle and lantern for light at, 142; bracket for lamp at, 222
Ellinor, Isabel, of Newcastle, widow, 261; John, of Newcastle, sadler, 261; Margery, married Edward Robson, 261; William, of Newcastle, sadler, will of, 261; to be buried in St. Nicholas's church, 261; bequests, 261; children, John, Margery, Ellinor, and William, 261
Ellis, James, a correspondent of Sir Walter Scott, 262*n*, 263
Ellison, Benj., of Newcastle, merchant, 253, 254; Francis, of Newcastle, merchant, 256; Isabel, of Newcastle, widow, 252, 255; Joseph, of Newcastle, 254, 255, 256; will of, 255; Elizabeth, wife of, 255; Barbara, daughter of, 255; Robert, 255, 257; representative of Newcastle in Long Parliament, 256*n*; pardon of, 256*n*; buried in St. Nicholas's church, 256; Robert, the elder, 257; John, Joseph, Nathaniel, Robert, jun., and Samuel, sons of, 257; Samuel, witness to a deed, 255; William, alderman of Newcastle, 267
Ellisons: family dispute, 256 *et seq.*; of Lintz, 256*n*
Elmdon, Henry Crewe Boutflower, rector of, 286
Elphege, bishop, built new tower of Winchester cathedral church, 163
Elsdon church, memorial stone of Elrington Reed and wife in, 281
Elsing church, sir Hugh de Hastings to be buried in, 81; remains of his brass in, 82
Elswick, premises at, 250
Elwick hall church, 'low side window' in, 50, 213, 222; like that at Redmarshall, 213
Ely cathedral church, tomb of bishop William de Kilkenny in, 100; prior Crauden's chapel t, 55; chantry chapels in, 121; effigy of bishop Goodrich at, 118*n*; tomb of bishop Hotham in, had lofty 'branch' for seven great tapers, 126
Elzen, near Hildesheim, removal of a barrow at, 191
Embledon, Dr. D., death of, x; obituary notice of, 1; born in Newcastle and educated at Witton school, 1; apprentice to Mr. Leighton, 1; admitted member of Royal College of Surgeons, 2; at Paris, 2, 3; in Italy, 3; lecturer on anatomy, etc., at Newcastle, 3; fellow of Royal College of Physicians, 3; V.P. of Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, 4; contributions to medical literature, etc., 4; bibliography, 5
Emelay, Isabella, wife of sir William de, extract from will of, 82
England, by far the finest ecclesiastical brass in, 103
Erables, Touraine, the stone of, 138
Erfurt, chalice on effigy of a priest at, 119*n*; on that of John de Heringen at, 119*n*; on that of Eobanus Ziegler, 120*n*
Erickburn, see 'Arickbourne'
Errington, arms of, impaling Carnaby, 282; Mark, of Newcastle, merchant, 264; Paul, 282; Thomas, arms of, 282; of Riding Mill, 275
Erslintone, Berwick, Ogle lands in, 244
Escomb church, Roman stones in walls of, 233
Estrées, France, hollow column at, 132
Etruria, early tombs in, 183
Etton church, near Peterborough, 'low side window' in, 61
'Ewigelichte,' the German, 167
Exchange of publications, xxix

Exeter, bishops of, 118*n*; cathedral church of, consecration crosses on walls of, 69; chantry chapels in, 121; figure of Christ in chapel of St. Radegund, 105; tombs, etc., in, chalice, paten, gold ring, and wooden crozier found in grave of bishop Bitton in. 115; of bishop Boothe, 118*n*; of bishop Grandisson in chantry chapel of St. Radegund, 126; of bishop Iscanus, 100; of bishop Stapledon, 104; of bishop Stafford, 118*n*
Eygotland, Denmark known as, 243

F

'Fanaux,' 129 *et seq.*, 164, 165; raised in cemeteries which bordered main roads and very frequented places, 139; destined to preserve living from fear of ghosts, 139; Irish round towers for same purpose as, 161
Farbreke, Robert, witness to a deed, 250
Farmer, Ralph, of Newcastle, premises of, 266
Fawcett, Christopher, legal opinion of, 260
Featherstonhaugh, Bridget, of Newcastle, spinster, 263; [ffetherstonhalgh,] Ralph, witness to a deed, 266
Felletin, France, 'fanaux' in cemetery of, 131
Felton, registers of, 245
Felton, William de, extract from will of, 78
Fenioux, 'fanaux' at, 130
Fentoun of Ogill, James, 244
Fenwick, Dr. Claudius, of Newcastle, 274; Colonel George, of Brinkburn and Monkwearmouth Shore and of Wormanhurst, Sussex, death of, 274; Ledgard, sister of, 274; Cullick, sister of, 274; John, of Wallington, Geoffrey Boutflower married second daughter of, 271; Joan Clavering, wife of, 271; John, of Walker, will of, 272; married Isabel Heron of Chipchase, 272; Lancelot, of Kenton, and Anne, his wife, 252; Nich, of Newcastle, merchant, 264; sir Roger, of Wallington, 272; William, of Bywell, 275
Feralia, festival of, when Romans carried food to the sepulchres of their dead, 189
Ferguson, R. S., chancellor of Carlisle, death of, x
Fess, a, between three eagles' heads, a mullet for difference, on seal, 254
Fête Dieu, procession of the, 134
Fewster, Anthony, of Ebchester, married Barbara Boutflower, 282; Elizabeth Boutflower remarried, 283; Eleanor, daughter of Roger, married John Boutflower, 279; Isabel married Elrington Reed, 281
Fire regarded by all people as purest and most sacred, 186
'Fish and Ring' story, the, 250*n*
Fitzhugh, Elizabeth lady, extract from will of, 80
Fitzroy, John, duke of Lancaster, extracts from will of, 84; Blanche, wife of, 84
Flamborough, William Boutflower, commander of H.M.S., 280
'Flaynburgh,' Marmaduke le Constable desired to be buried in chancel of St. Oswald the king's church at, 83; altar of Mary and Katherine in, 83
Flemyngs, Gilbert, 249; [Flemyng,] Richard, of Gateshead, 270
Flesher Raw, Newcastle, house in, 253, 254, 283*n*
Fletcher, James, yeoman, 251
Fleur-de-lis, a, on a seal, 249
Flintham church, Notts, 'low side window' in, 45
Flodden field, men of Tynemouth and Bamburgh took flight at, 40
Foggin, Mr., presents Roman sculptured stone, xvii
Fonte, Johan de, chalice on effigy of, at Damme, 120*n*
Fontevrault, 'fanal' of, 149; chapel of St. Katherine at, 150; Bertha, tenth abbess of, founder, 151
Fordham's, bishop, Rolls, 270
Forster, James, sheriff of Newcastle, 263; Ralph, witness to a deed, 254
Fortagh, round tower at, 155
Forth, Saxons established themselves on firth of, 240
Fox, bishop, chantry chapel of, 121
France, mass for dead said for lepers in, 51*n*; 'Hand of Providence' common in, 99; graves of the Merovingian period in, 192
Francis I., vases found in grave of, 195
Freeman, Edward, of Newcastle, merchant, 253
Freistadt in Upper Austria, light pillar in churchyard of, 172
Fremalle Grande, effigies of Johan and Arnott de Parfondrieu at, 99
French architecture, R. J. Johnson on Early, 153
French, William, of Newcastle, scrivener, 261
Friesthorpe, Lincolnshire, 238
Frieston, Lincolnshire, 238

Frisians settled in Britain, 238
Furness, the rev. Cecil Henry Boutflower, archdeacon of, 286

G

Gainford church, 229; carried out at a single effort, 225; chalice on grave cover at, 120*n*
Gardner, bishop, chantry chapel of, 121; Ralph, the river Tyne reformer, 37
Garmundsway moor, 230
Garfit, Jane, of Skirbeck quarter, Boston, will of, 269
Garsington church, Oxfordshire, 'low side window' in, 45
Gateshead church, probable reason why no 'low side window' in, 204
Gauls, first apostles of the, 138
Gayle fatt, a, 253
Germany, first apostles of, 138; oldest light pillar in, 171
Ghent, candelabra in copper at St. Bavon's church in, bearing arms of England, 126*n*; chalice on effigy of Willem Symoens at, 119*n*
Ghosts, 'fanaux' erected to preserve living from fear of, 139
Gibson, Reginald, of Corbridge, Dorothy Boutflower married, 281; J. P., his photographs of the Roman Wall, xi
Glendalough, St. Kevin's kitchen at, 155
Gloucester, Humphrey, duke of, his chantry chapel at St. Albans, 123
Gloucester cathedral church, tomb of Edward II. in, has bracket for lamp, 126
Glover, T., presents smokejack to Society, xvii
God the Father, representations of, 102 and *n*
Godfrey, bishop of Chichester, buried in the Paradise, 111
Gofton's Chare, Newcastle, 266
Goldsborough church, Yorkshire, two-light 'low side window' in, 45, 50*n*, 60, 179, 212
Goodrich, bishop, effigy of, at Ely, 118*n*
Gore, Nicholas de, effigy of, in Woodchurch church, Kent, 98
Gorka, effigy of bishop Uriel de, at Posen, 118*n*
Gospels, etc., effigies holding, 118*n*
Gothland, etc., islands of, 242; [Götaland] Goths in, 243
Goulven, France, cemetery chapel at, 154
Gourcans, Simon de, bishop of Amiens, vases in grave of, 195
Gowden's Hole, Northumberland, 260
Gowland, Thomas, of Jewry Street, London, 265
Graham, W., witness to a deed, 264
Grainsthorpe church, Lincolnshire, cross enclosing figure, in, 98
Grandisson, bishop, burial place of, in Exeter cathedral church, 126
Gravesend, tomb of Benedict de, in Lincoln minster, 115
'Grave chalices,' 120*n*
Grave covers, medieval, chalices, etc., on, 120*n*
Gray, archbishop of York, representation of, with crozier in left hand, 118*n*; John, of Newcastle, merchant, 255; Mary, wife of, 255; [Graye] Ralph, witness to a deed, 251 (see also Grey)
Greatham, country meeting at, xi; church rebuilt 'in the vulgarest sham Gothic manner,' 200
Great Salkeld, chalice and book on grave cover at, 120*n*
Great Stainton church pulled down and rebuilt, 200
Greeks, regulations amongst, concerning treatment of dead bodies, 187; burn their dead, 185
Green, Ann, of Newcastle, widow, heirlooms in house in Pudding chare, Newcastle, in possession of, 267 (see also Grene)
Greenfield, archbishop of York, effigy of, with crozier, 118*n*
Grene, Thomas, 251 (see also Green)
Grey, George, of Newcastle, 267; Walter, archbishop of York, tomb of, 100 (see also Gray)
Greys of Howick, arms of, on seal, 255
Grindon Chare, Newcastle, property in, 264
Groat Market, Newcastle, property in, 263
Grossetete, bishop, silver chalice, etc., discovered at Lincoln minster with remains of, 114
Gual, countries near to the Roman Wall called, 239
Guicmillian, cemetery chapel at, 154
Gurk in Carinthia, perpetual light in churchyard near cathedral of, 172

H

Haccomb church, Devonshire, effigy of a lady in, 101; female effigy, etc., in, 126
Haccomb family, effigy of a lady of the, in Haccomb church, Devon, 101
'Hagioscopes,' 48
'Halfendeale,' 259

Hall, Christopher, of Newsham, county Durham, esq., 252 ; Anne, daughter of, 252; Francis, witness to a deed, 250 ; Dr. John, an eminent physician in Newcastle, founded Dispensary, etc., 265 and *n* ; John, son of Thomas, 264 ; John, will of, 265; Ralph, son of Thomas, bequest to, 264; Thomas, of Newcastle, tallow chandler, 264; will of, 264 ; bequests to wife, etc., 264 ; Walter, son of Dr. John, 265 ; Willoughby, son of Thomas, 264 ; will of, 265 ; bequests in, 265
Halton, Roman sculptured stone from near, presented, xvii
Hampton, Thomas, and wife, brass of, in Stoke Charity church, Hants, 104
Hanbury, Staffordshire, cross enclosing effigy in, 98
Hand bells, 61
'Hand of Providence,' symbol of, common in France and Belgium, 99
Hansard chantry in Heighington church, east window of, could be used as 'low side window,' 202
Harbottle, etc., country meeting at, xi
Hargraves, Jonathan, of Newcastle, merchant, 277
Harrison, Anthony, of Ebchester, married Margaret Boutflower, 281 ; George, of Newcastle, merchant, 264 ; Jasper, of Newcastle, gentleman, 258 ; John, of Newcastle, mason, 266
Hartlepool, nuns of St. Hilda's, massacred at Tynemouth, 23 ; pre-Conquest crosses discovered at, 109 ; chancel of church fell down, 200
Harwell church, Berkshire, 'low side window' in, 45
Hassex, 275
Hastings, sir Hugh de, extract from will of, 81; bequests to sir Richard and sir Thomas, his chaplains, 81; built Elsing church, 81; remains of his brass, 82
Hatfield's Survey, 270
Haverfield, F., on excavations at Chesters in September, 1900, 9
Haughton le Skerne church, early Norman work in, 214; early 'low side window' in, 214
Haute Vienne, many 'fanaux' in, 131
Hearses, etc., 124 (see also Herses)
Hearth money, 275 ; receipt for, for Ford castle, vi
Heath, Thomas S., of Newcastle, 266
Heathfield, Edwin slain by Penda at, 22
Heddon-on-the-Wall, Blanchland abbey endowed with appropriation of St. Andrew's at, 271
Hedley, John, witness to a deed, 261: Nicholas, of Newcastle, merchant, pardon to, 272
Hedworth, John, 251
Heere, brass of John and Gerard de, at Brussels, 103*n*
Heighington church, east window of Hansard chantry in, could be used as a 'low side window,' 202
Heiligenstadt, the Anna chapel in church of, 169
Heirlooms, etc., sale of, by Mrs. Jane Shafto, 253
Helaugh, John de Depeden, lord of, 85 ; he desired to be buried in abbey church of, 85
Henderson, Margaret, witness to a will, 266 ; William, of Newcastle, 267
Hengist and Horsa, 238
Henry I. of France buried at Troyes, 194
Henry IV., king, rude cross in coffin of, 107
Henry VII., chantry chapel at Westminster erected by, 122 ; effigies of him and his queen in, 122
Hepple, country meeting at, xi
Hercules, traditions of the voyages of the Tyrian, 138
Hereford cathedral church, figure of civilian in cross at, 98 ; fine early tomb of bishop Peter de Aquablanca in, 105; linen crosses in wooden coffin of Johanna de Bohun in, 109 ; chalice and paten found in grave of bishop Swinfield in, 116
Herelaw, Blanchland abbey endowed with, 271
Heringen, John de, chalice on effigy of, at Erfurt, 119*n*
Herme, Marmaduke Boutflower of Gosport, captain of ship, 285*n*
Heron, Isabel, of Chipchase, John Fenwick, jun., married, 272 ; Mally, of Newcastle, widow, 250 ; Walter, of Newcastle, gentleman, 265
Herses, standing, of metal, fixed over tombs, 125 ; in Beauchamp chapel, Warwick, in Tanfield church and Bedale church, Yorkshire, 125 ; are frames covered with cloth and ornamented with banners and lights, 125
Hervée, bishop of Troyes, chalice and pastoral ring discovered in grave of, 116 ; a glass vase in grave of, 194
Hesilrigg, Johanna, wife of Donald de, extracts from will of, 84
Heslope, George, of Newcastle, 276
Hewitt, James, of Newcastle, 263

Hexham: free school masters: Thomas Rotheram, 279; William Johnson, 279; priory church at, opening of grave of St. Acca at, 110
Higham Ferrars Church, Northants, grave-slab cross commemorating parents of archbishop Chichele at, 98; chalice and priest's wafer on brass of priest at, 119*n*
High bridge, Newcastle, 262; premises in, 261
'High side windows,' 50*n*
Hilary, bishop of Chichester, discovery of supposed coffin of, 111
Hildesheim, brass of bishop Otto of Brunswick at, 118*n*
Hill Court, Gloucestershire, paten and crystal cup found at, 115
Hilton, Jonathan, of Newcastle, grocer, 266
Hindley, tenement in, purchased by George Boutflower, 273
Hindley Newton, 275
Hodgson, rev. John, on origin of the name Ogle, 236; rev. J. F., on Norton and Billingham churches, xi; on 'low side windows,' 43
Hövener, proconsul Albert, fine brass of, at Stralsund, 103*n*
Hoga and kindred words meaning high, 244
Hogdall, Sweden, 242
Hoggal, Hoggel, and other ways of spelling Ogle, 236, 244
Hoghalla, Sweden, 242
Hoghill, fort on river Lyne, 244; fort on the Lammermuirs, 244
Holm, bequest to altar in church of, 83; chapel of St. Nicholas in, 83
Holmes, James, 253; Henry, of Lincoln's Inn, 264; James, witness to a deed, 253; Sheriton, death of, x.
Holy oil, 116
Holyrood, canons of, granted jurisdiction over barony of Ogleface, Linlithgowshire, 243
Homer speaks of burying dead, 185
Honemimorus, the *chi-rho* on gravestone of, 95*n*
Honorary members, xix
Hopper John, of Newcastle, 266
Hornby, Hugh, 263
Hornsby, Thomas, of Durham. 265
Horsley, John, chaplain of chantry in chapel on bridge, Newcastle, 249; Thomas, mayor of Newcastle, 249; alderman, sheriff, and mayor of Newcastle and founder of Free Grammar School, 249*n*; tombstone in St. Nicholas's church, 249*n*
Horton, John de, son and heir of John de, burgess of Newcastle, 249
Hotham, bishop, tomb of, in Ely cathedral, church had lofty 'branch' for seven tapers, 126
Houghton-le-Spring, will of Thomas de Walkington, rector of, 76; any evidence of 'low side window' hidden by plaster, 200
Hua-Killene, bishop Cormachus erected round tower of Tomgrancy in Clare, 159
Humble, Thomas, of Newcastle, basket-maker, 264
Humble's shop, Newcastle, view of, 264*n*
Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, vault beneath tomb of, 107; chantry chapel of, at St Albans, 123; constructed by abbot Wheathamstead, 123; cost of its construction, 123
Hungerford, Walter lord, chantry chapel of, in Salisbury cathedral church, 121
Hunnam, Fenwick, of Newcastle, cheesemonger, 252*n*
Hunstanworth, old church 'has been destroyed,' 200
Hunter, Christopher, the antiquary, 281; William, of Newcastle, ropemaker, and Margaret, his wife, 261, 262
Hunting rifle, German, presented to Society, xvii
Huntley, Thomas, of Newcastle, mariner 277
Hurworth church 'has well nigh perished,' 200
Hutchinson, William, witness to a deed, 253
Hutton, Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph of Mainsforth, married Thomas Boutflower, 276; buried at Bishop Middleham, 277; Mildred, of St. Oswald's, marriage of, 274; daughter of Ralph, of Mainsforth, 274; Ralph II., of Mainsforth, commissary of Richmond, 276
Hymers. Margaret, wife of Stephen Atkinson, 266; [Hyndmers], Gawin, 251

I

Icelandic Sagas, Denmark known as Eygotland in, 243
Incense in churches, why used, 72
Ingdeborg, queen, effigy of, in Ringstead cathedral church, 102*n*
Ingleby, rector, sedilia in Darlington church of time of, 214; his arms on one of shields, 215
Inishmore, Dun Oghill on isle of, 240

Iournet, France, 'fanal' of, 135
Irish monastery of St. Columbanus, at Luxeuil, Burgundy, 164; round towers, 140, 154 *et seq.*; speculation as to their use, 157; of Christian origin, 159; early notice of erection of, 159; used as beacons, 162; similar to 'fanaux' and for similar purpose, 161
Iscanus, bishop Bartholomew, tomb of, in Exeter cathedral church, 100

J

Jackson, John, witness to a deed, 251
Japanese mode of burial, 184
Jarrow church, 'one of most precious and instructive in kingdom,' 215; 'practically perfect,' 215; 'low side windows,' 45, 59, 64; earliest example in kingdom, 215
Jean and Philippe, sons of Blanche of Castille, tombs of, 192, 194
Jervaulx abbey, chalice and wafer on grave cover at, 120*n*; Elizabeth, lady Fitzhugh, to be buried before the high altar, 80
Jesmond, attempt to kill prior of Tynemouth at, 38; lands at, belonging to Tynemouth, 40
Jet crucifix found in coffin at Old Malton, 115
Jewish practice of burial, 181
Jews: death and bodies of dead conveyed pollution amongst, 186; laws regarding, 186
Jobling, Elizabeth, widow of William Boutflower, remarried Anthony Fewster of Ebchester, 283
John, effigy of king, in Worcester cathedral church, 100
John of Tynemouth, an eminent writer, vicar of Tynemouth, 41
John, count de Warenne, etc., extract from will of, 82; 'bâtard d'Orleans,' vases found in grave of, 195
Johnson, Isabel, of Newcastle, premises of, 266; Robert, of Ebchester, 281; bequest of Old Ridley by, 281*n*; R. J., his fine folio on Early French Architecture, 153; Mrs. Sarah, 277; Wilkinson, of Medomsley, married Isabel Boutflower, 281; Mr. William, master of Hexham free school, 279; [Johnastown,] William, of Ogill, 244
Jouhé in Poitou, cemetery chapel at, 151; description of, 151
Jumièges, two vases in grave of abbé of, 194
Jutes, Camden's origin of word, 242

K

'Karner,' the German, 168
Kaunt, Henry, death of, 270
Kell, George, 251
Kellawe, bishop Richard, extract from will of, 80; died at Bishop Middleham, 80*n*; buried in Durham chapter house, where remains discovered in 1879, 80*n*
Kelloe, associated with bishop Kellawe, 216; 'low side window' in church, doubtful, 204, 216
Kells, Meath, round tower at, 155
Keneith, Cork, round tower at, 156
Kibblesworth, house of William Bultflour in, 270
Kilcullen, Kildare, round tower at, 156
Kildare, round tower at, 156; details Transitional Norman 'Irished,' 159
Kilkenny, tomb of bishop William de, in Ely cathedral church, 100
Killala, Mayo, round tower at, 156
Killmallock, Limerick, round tower at, 156
Killossey, Kildare, round tower of peculiar form at, 156
Kilmacduagh, Galway, round tower of unusual height, 156
Kilree, Kilkenny, round tower at, 156
Kingdon, Herefordshire, niched base of churchyard cross at, 144
Kinlet, Shropshire, curious building supporting base of cross in churchyard of, 143
Kirkburton church, Yorkshire, 'hagioscope' in, 219
Kirkley, Ogles of, 278
Kirkley, William, of Newcastle, gentleman, 263; solicitor, witness to a deed, 264
Kirk Levington, country meeting at, xi
Kirk Merrington, see Merrington
Kirkliston, the 'Catstane' at, 238
Kirk Whelpington, John Boutflower vicar of, 273
Klosterneuberg, tower at, 178; finest of all 'Todtenleuchten,' 171, 203

L

Lacock abbey church, Wilts, cross and beads in tomb of Ela, countess of Salisbury, 108
Lake, Albert, 258; Alice, 258; Ann, 258; Elizabeth, 258; George, of Long Benton, 259; Jane, 258; Mary, 258
Lambert, Richard, of Newcastle, surgeon, 262
Lambton, Ralph John, 265
Lampaul, France, cemetery chapel at, 154
Lamps, churchyard crosses with niches for, 140 *et seq.*

Lancaster, John fitz du Roy, duke of, extracts from will of, 84
Lanchester church, Roman stones in walls of, 233; probable reason why no 'low side window' in, 204; window in chancel *temp.* bishop Bek, 230
Lancing church, Sussex, 'low side window' in, 45
Landewednack church, Cornwall, 'low side window' in, 44, 57
Langley, cardinal, introduced stalls into Auckland St. Andrew church, 205
Langton, effigy in Redmarshall church, 224; bishop of Winchester, chantry chapel of, 121; William, rector of St. Michael's, York, chalice and wafer on brass of, 119*n*
Lanternes des morts, 129 *et seq.*
Lasson, William, of Newcastle, smith, will of, 260
Lawson, Jane, widow, 260; Thomas, of Newcastle, yeoman, 259
Leaden plates, cruciform, discovered in coffins, 108
Leaton, William, of Gibside, gentleman, 265
Ledgard, sister of colonel George Fenwick of Brinkburn, 274
Lee, Edward, 252; Joseph, witness to a deed, 265; Mrs. Margaret, of Old Ridley, Thomas Boutflower married, 279
Legh, Roger, and wife, brass of, in Rivers chapel, St. Nicholas's church, Macclesfield, 105
Leicester, St. Mary's, chalice and book on grave cover at, 120*n*; gilds of St. Mary and St. Katherine at, brethern and sisters of, on death, to have a hearse and torches, 125
Leishman, William, of Newcastle, sadler, 261
'Leper windows,' the name originated by Dr. Rock, 50
Lepers not allowed to quit the leper hospital, 50*n*; church treats them as dead, 51*n*; in France mass for dead said, 51*n*
Lessons, 'low side windows' not to give light to reader of, 55
Letteny, John, of Gray's Inn, gentleman, 265
Lewes, St. Pancras, John, earl of Warenne, etc., to be buried in, 82; remains of chapel, 82*n*; body discovered in, 82*n*; bull of Pope Clement VI. discovered, 82*n*
Libergier, Hues, architect of St. Nicaise at Reims, incised effigy of, 101
'Lichtsaulen,' 168
Liddell, Dorothy, 266; Matthew, witness to a will, 263; Thomas, of Newcastle, 263
Lights, ceremonial use of, 75; bequests in wills of sums, etc., for, 78 *et seq.*; low side windows probably for exhibition of, 67; origin and significance of perpetual, 181 *et seq.*
'Light pillars,' 168
Lightning, treatment of dead amongst Greeks and Romans caused by, 188; bodies to be buried where they fell, 188
Lilleshall priory, late twelfth century pulpit at, 55*n*
Lincoln, cruciform plate of lead in coffin discovered in Minster Close, 108; minster, silver chalice and gold ring discovered in, 114; tomb of bishop Benedict de Gravesend in, 115; tomb of bishop Oliver Sutton, who built cloister of, 115
Lincolnshire, silver chalice found in, 115
Lindisfarne, Colman, bishop of, 240*n*
Lintz, a tenement at, purchased by Nicholas Hedley of Newcastle, 272
Lisle, John, of Morpeth, 258; Mary, daughter of, 258; Margaret, 258; Ralph, witness to a will, 258; Robert, witness to a will, 251; son of John, 258
'Little Carling Croft,' Newcastle, 250
Little, Whitford and, removed from their office of confessors, 63
Llandewednack church, low side window in, 44, 57
Local muniments, R. Welford on, 247
Loctudy, France, cemetery chapel at, 154
Lodge, John, witness to a deed, 251
'Lofthouslyntes,' 270
London, Boutflowers in, 269; St. Paul's cathedral church, wrought copper candelabra belonging to, sold to St. Bavon's, Ghent, 126; John fitz du Roy, duke of Lancaster, desired to be buried in, 84
Long, Luke, of Newcastle, surgeon, 262; 'quack doctor,' 262*n*; advertisement in *Newcastle Courant*, 262*n*
Longstaffe, W. H. D., and local muniments, 247
Longnewton church chiefly modern, 200
Longpont, France, tomb in abbey church of, 106
Lorraine, 'low side windows' frequently met with in, 147
Losh, James, of Newcastle, esq., 265
Lothian, Oghgul race may have occupied, 240
Louvain, effigy of Katherine van Nethinem at, 102*n*

'Low side windows,' 43; term brought into use, 43; classification of, 43; conjectural uses, 45; said to have been used to do penance at, 53; for acolytes to pass thurible through, 54; to enable a watcher to see approach of priest, etc., 54, *et seq.*; still remaining in county of Durham, 197, *et seq.*; their true use and origin, 68; churches in county Durham in which no trace of, now exists, 199, 201
Lucy, arms of, in chapel at Tynemouth, 31
Ludham church, Norfolk, sanctus bell-cot and low side window in, 59
Ludlow, St. Lawrence's church, 'low side window' in, 57, 59; grave cover with cross and evangelistic symbols, 105
Lübeck, effigy of bishop John Tydeman at, 119*n*; 'most magnificent brass ever executed' at, 102*n*
Lumbarde, John, rector of Stone, Kent, effigy of, 98
Lumsden, Edward, of Morpeth, dyer, 280; married Mary, daughter of Nathaniel Boutflower, 280; bailiff of Morpeth, 280
Lusk, Dublin, round tower at, 156
Luxeuil, Irish monastery of Columbanus at, 164
'Lychnoscopes,' 47
Lydney, Gloucestershire, niched base of churchyard cross at, 144
Lyndley, Thomas, of Scutterskelf, extract from will of, 80
Lyons, Samuel, of Newcastle, weaver, 260
Lysons, rev. Samuel, one of trustees of Mrs. Whaley (*née* Boutflower), 285

M

Macclesfield, brass of Roger Legh and wife in Rivers chapel, St. Nicholas's church at, 105
Machpelah, Abraham's choice of a burial place in cave of, 181
Maddison, Henry, of Newcastle, 254; mayor of Newcastle, 251
Madeira, lectures on, by Dr. Embleton, 4
Magdeburg, oldest German light pillar at, 171
Mainsforth, Ralph Hutton of, 274
Malcolm Canmore and his son, buried at Tynemouth, 26; afterwards removed to Dunfermline. 26; though said to be still at Tynemouth, 26
Malton (Old) priory church, pewter chalice and paten and jet crucifix found in coffin at, 115; Agnes de Percy to be buried in, 82
Man, Miles, of Newcastle, merchant, 253; Thomas, chaplain of chantry of St. Ann in chapel on bridge, Newcastle, 249
Manoah, story of, 189
Mare, abbot de la, brass of, in St. Alban's abbey church, 'by far the finest ecclesiastical brass in England,' 103; prior of Tynemouth, 103; died at St. Albans. 103
Marius, stone of the martyr, 95*n*
Marley, Edward, of Newcastle, barber surgeon, 277; William and John, of Newcastle, cheesemongers, 252*n*
Marmions, herse over tomb of, in Tanfield church, Yorkshire, 125
Marrick, chalice, etc, on grave cover at, 120*n*
Marshall, bishop of Exeter, effigy of, with crozier, 118*n*; Michael, witness to a deed, 254; Thomas, of Blanchland, 280
Mary of Brittany, wife of Louis I., discovery of lead coffin of, 114
Maskin tub, a, 253
Mattersdorf, 'Todtenleuchten' at, 143
Matthew of Westminster, his narrative of massacre of nuns at Tynemouth, 24
Mathew, Michael, of Cleadon, 252; tomb of, at Whitburn, 252*n*; Hannah, daughter of, 252; Thomas of Newcastle, gentleman, 254
Maughan's chare, Newcastle, premises in, 266
Maundy Thursday, various ceremonies peculiar to, 145
Mavorius, name of, on stone at Stranraer, 96*n*
Meal market, Newcastle, 262
Medes, cremation impossible with the, 185
Median kingdom, inhumation practised in the, 184
Medieval grave covers, elaborate, at Winston and Wycliffe churches, 233
Medomsley, extract from will of Nicholas le Meuner of, 78; church, 230; built all at one time and in one style, 217; 'low side window' in, 218, 227
Meelick, Mayo, round tower at, 156
Melsele, chalice on effigy of Ian Van Den Couteren at, 119*n*
Melton Constable church, Norfolk, 'low side window' and seat in, 65
Melton, William de, extracts from will of, 84
Members, honorary, xix; ordinary, xx; Menevyll, Thomas de, of Appilerley, 271; [Mennevill,] William, extract from will of, 78
Menved, king Eric, and his queen, effigies of, in Ringstead cathedral church, 102*n*

Mercury, Roman sculptured stone representing, presented to society, xvii
Merovingian period in France, graves of the, 192
Merrington, the ancient church of, pulled down, 200
Merton college chapel, Oxford, cross, enclosing effigy, in, 98
Merton, Walter de, bishop of Rochester, crozier and chalice discovered in grave of, 115
Metal hearses over tombs, 125
Metz, cruciform leaden plates discovered in coffins of bishops of, 108
Meux, John de, extract from will of, 83
Mexicans, burial by inhumation of the, 184
Mickley, 275
Middleham church, Yorkshire, 'low side window' in, 50*n*, 60, 221
Middleham, Bishop, see Bishop Middleham
Middle street, Newcastle, premises in, 261
Middleton church, Lancashire, chalice and wafer on brass of Edmund Appleton at, 119*n*
Middleton-in-Teesdale, old church destroyed, 200
Middleton, Sir William of Belsay, John Davis, an ejected minister preached at house of, 275
Midford, Christ., witness to a deed, 267; George, witness to a deed, 256 (see also Mitford)
Milan, 'L'arbre de la vierge at,' 88; description of, 88
Milton, the poet, John Boultflower at Christ college, Cambridge, with, 273
Mimms, North, see North Mimms
Minchinhampton church, Gloucestershire, 'low side window' in, 59
Mingen, Johan, and his wife, effigies of, at Chalons-sur-Marne, 102*n*
Mitford, Cuthbert, witness to a deed, 264; [Mittforth,] Mr. George, of Hexham, apothecary, 279; [Mitforde,] Robert, of Newcastle, merchant, 250 (see also Midford)
Mitton church, Lancashire, leper hospital at, 53; 'low side window' in, 53
Monasterboice, Louth, Ireland, round tower at, 156
Mondidier, Marie de, effigy of, at Evreux, 102*n*
Monkwearmouth, rev. D. S. Boutflower, vicar of, 286; church, no trace of a 'low side window' in, remaining, 200
Montaigu, France, 'fanaux' at, 132
Montferrand, France, 'fanaux' at, 132
Montmajeur, near Arles, by far the earliest 'chapelle isolée' is that of Saint Croix, 148; description of, by V. le Duc, 148
Montmorillon in Poitou, cemetery chapel at, 152; crypt under, 152
Montréale, France, tombs in churchyard of, 107
Morienval, vases found in grave at, 195
Morpeth, Edward Lumsden, bailiff, 280
Morrice, Francis, esq., 259
Morison, Ralph, of London, bequest to 258
Morton, bishop of Durham, John Boutflower, chaplain to, 273; John, of Newcastle, master and mariner, 266; [Moreton,] Roger de, citizen of York, extracts from will of, 83
Morvan, vases still placed in graves at, 196
Mount Grace, etc., country meeting at, xi
Mowbray taken prisoner to Durham, 36; died a monk at St. Albans, 36; Robert de, earl of Northumberland, expelled Durham monks from Tynemouth, and granted it to St. Albans, 25; he completed church, 25
Muggleswick, old church of, destroyed, 200
Mul, bishop John de, at Lübeck, 'most magnificent brass of, ever executed, 102*n*
Muniments, local, 247
Munter, Joris de, and his wife, brass of, in Bruges cathedral church, 108
Murrefe, John, of Ogleface, 243
Museum, donations to the, xvii
Musgrave, Dr., dean of Carlisle and prebendary of Durham, 277; Cuthbert, of Berwick, 250
Muster roll of 1538, the, 249*n*, 272
Mycenae, sepulchres or 'treasuries' at, 183

N

Naksh-i-Rustum, rock cut tomb of Darius at, 184
Naumberg, effigy of bishop Schomberg at, representing a 'cadaver,' 119*n*; effigy of bishop Theodericus of, 118*n*
Nesbit, William, of Newcastle, 265
Nethinem, Katherine von, effigy of, at Louvain, 102*n*
Neufchâteau, France, 'low side window' at, 147
Neuport, William de, rector of Wermouth, extract from will of, 83
Nevill, Ralph lord, burial of, in Durham cathedral church, 76
Nevill chantry, Staindrop church, effigy of Euphemia de Clavering in, 127

Neville's cross, 127
Newcastle, meeting of British Archaeological Association in, xii; inquisition held at, concerning encroachments of prior at North Shields, 38; a curious deed of partition relating to tenement in, 259 and *n*; founder of Free Grammar School in, 249*n*; Boutflowers at, 269
Newcastle, mayors of, Oswald Chapman, 250; William Cramlington, 263; Thomas Horsley, 249; Henry Maddison, 251; mayor and burgesses of, damages awarded to, for encroachments of Tynemouth prior, 38; had property in the Dean leased from, 264
Newcastle, Robert Ellison, member for, in Long Parliament, 256*n*
Newcastle, sheriffs of: William Boutflower, 277; Henry Dalston, 267; Joseph Forster, 263
Newcastle, aldermen of: William Ellison, 267; John Simpson, 267
Newcastle, John de Horton, burgess of, 249
Newcastle castle, moat of the, 249; the postern, 249; 'le Longe Stayre,' 249, 250
Newcastle, churches, etc.: St. Andrew's, chalice, etc., on floriated grave cover at, 120*n*; lands belonging to Mary chantry in, 259; churchyard property of, 259, 260; counsel's opinion concerning, 260; St. Mary's hospital, chalice and paten on floriated grave cover from, 120*n*; St. Nicholas's church, tombstone of Thomas Horsley, mayor, etc., in, 249; St. Thomas's chapel, on bridge, chantry of Blessed Mary in, 249; chantry of St. Ann's in same, 249
Newcastle, streets, etc., in: the 'Arickbourne,' 250; Broad Chare, 251*n*; Cale Cross, 253*n*; conveyance of 'waste stone walls lying in the Close,' 250; documents relating to a house in the Close, 249, 250; Cordiner or Cordwainer raw, 253*n*; the Cross, 255; tenement in Darwen Crook, 259; house used as a workhouse in the Dean, near Painterheugh, 264; at Elswick, at Little Carling Croft, 250; Flesher-raw, 253*n*, 254; Gofton's Chare, 266; the 'GreatWaste,' 250; Groat Market, 263; property in Grindon Chare, 264; leased from Earl of Scarbrough, 264; premises in Maughan's Chare leading from Sandgate to the river, 266; Meal Market, 262; premises in Middle Street and High Bridge, 261; house in Nolt Market, 267; house in Upper Over Dean or High Bridge, 262;
Newcastle—*continued.*
house in Pearson's Chare, Sandgate, 266; Pudding Chare, 262, 266, 267; waste land anciently called 'Riddyngs land,' 249; property on Sandhill, 264; in the Side, 252; house in Spicer Lane, 257; Westgate, 250; premises in Westgate Street and Sandgate, 266 *et seq.*; 'White's Lofts,' 265
Newland, Gloucestershire, niched base of churchyard cross at, 144
Newport, see Neuport
Newton, Lancelot, of 'Stokfeld,' lessee of Bywell fishery, 273; Ralph, of Newcastle, 273; Richard, of Eltringham, 273, 276, 281; Roger, of Newcastle, 273
Nicholas le Meuner, extract from will of, 78
Nicholls, Barbary, of Newcastle, 254, 257; Francis, witness to a deed, 254
Nicholson, Roger, of Newcastle, merchant, 250
Nolt market, Newcastle, house in, 267
Nordhausen, chalice and effigy of Jacob Capillan at, 119*n*
Norman, Anthony, scrivener, 253
Normanvil, John de, prior and convent of Hexham held homage of, for Stokesfield and Apperley, 271
North Hinksey, Berkshire, 'low side window' at, 43
North Mimms, chalice on brass at, 119*n*
Northumbria, stained glass representing the four chief saints of, 213
Norton, country meeting at, xi; church 'most curious and valuable of all churches in Durham county,' 220; recast in Pudsey's days, 220; became collegiate, 220; three-light 'low side window' at, 179, 220; Ralph de Bromley, vicar of, 80
Norwich, silver cross, etc., discovered in St. Sepulchre's churchyard at, 111

O

Ochil hills, Scotland, 244
Ochiltree, or Oghiltree, 244
Ochiltree, Mary, 244; Matthew, 244
Ochta and Abisa, with forty keels, invited to Britain, 239
Odenburg, 'Todtenleuchten' at, 143
'Offertory windows,' 'low side windows,' thus named by Paley, 53
Officers of the Society, xviii
Og, name common to all Teutonic families, 236
Ogell, a family named, hereditary judges in Sweden, 242
Ogelstromen, the, in Sweden, 242

Oggel, name said to have been common in Scandinavia, 243
Oghgul, or Angul, island of, 239, 241
Oghgul race, the, may have occupied Lothian, 240
Oghill, dun, on Isle of Inishmore, 240; or Oaghill, Arranmore, Connaught, 241
Oghiltree, Ochiltree or, 244
Oghilltree [Oghelltree] Michael, 244; Mungo, 244
Ogill, dominus Robert, extract from will of, 79
Ogil, in Perthshire and Forfarshire, 244
Ogilvy, etc., names, 245, 286
Ogilby, John, 245; [Ogleby,] Philip, 245
Ogle, the origin of the name, 236; different ways of spelling, 244
Ogle, captain Chaloner, commander of ship *Aquilo*, 284; Sir Chaloner, 280; Dorothy, daughter of John, of Kirkley, Nathaniel Boutflower married, 278; Mrs. Elizabeth, bequest to, 275; George, of Harnham, 255; Sir Henry A., on the origin of the name Ogle, 236; Mrs. Mary, 278; Nathaniel, 278; Ralph, 278; Thomas, of Newcastle, 278
Ogleburgh, near Chatton, Northumberland, 243; -burn, Innerwick, 243; -face, barony or regality of, in Linlithgow, 243; Robert III. granted canons of Holyrood jurisdiction over, 243; -glen, near Lochearnhead, 236, 244; -land, Erslintone, Berwick, 244; -thorpe = village of Ogle, 236
Oglestrop, a freeman of York, 245
Oglethorpes of Oglethorpe, 245
Ogwell, East and West, Derbyshire, 236
Oil, holy, 116
Old Ridley, conditional bequest of, to Robert Boutflower, 281
Oley, Mary, 255, 257; married John Gray of Newcastle, merchant, 255; of Newcastle, widow, 254
Oliver, Matthew, of Newcastle, hairdresser, 263
Oppenheim, side window of cemetery chapel at, 175, 180
Orchomenus, ancient sepulchres or 'treasuries' at, 183
Ord, John, 267
Ordinary members, xx
Orkneys, Picts and others said to have been pursued by Theodosius to the, 238
Ornsby, John, of Newcastle, draper, Dorothy Boutflower married, 276
Oswald, St., representation of, 100; built stone church at Tynemouth, 22; slain at Maserfield, 22
Oswin, said to have been born at South Shields, 23; murdered by Oswy at Gilling, 23; body brought to Tynemouth, 23; St., relics of, discovered, 24
Oswy, king of Bernicia, murdered Oswin at Gilling, 23
Othery church, Somersetshire, 'low side window' in, 44
Otto, of Brunswick, bishop, brass of, at Hildesheim, 118*n*
Over Dean Bridge, Newcastle, a house in, 262
Ovingham, Thomas Turvin or Trewren, ejected minister of, 275
Oxford, effigy of archbishop Cranley at, 118*n*; of bishop Young at, 118*n*; chalice found in grave of bishop Walter de Merton now in his college at, 115

P

Paderborn, effigy of bishop Rupert of, 118*n*
Painterheugh, Newcastle, house in, 264
Paley named 'low side windows,' 'offertory windows,' 53
Pardon of Robert Ellison by Charles II., 256*n*
Parfondeval, discovery of skeletons on layer of charcoal at, 191
Parfondrieu, effigies of Johan and Arnott de, at Fremalle, 99
Parigné l'Evêque, France, 'fanal' at, 135; constructed by English, 135
Paris, St. Denis's abbey church, effigies of kings and queens of France in, 127; Sainte Chapelle at, 55
Parker, J. H., brought term of 'low side window' into use, 43
Parkin, Thomas, witness to a deed, 26
Parthenay abbey church, in Poitou, 'fanal' in graveyard of, 134
Partition, a curious deed of, relating to land in Newcastle, 259 and *n*
Pasargadae, the tomb of Cyrus at, 184
Paston, William, of Morpeth, son of Wolstan Paston, will of, 258; Wolstan, 257; of Newcastle, gentleman, 256; Barbara Ellison, wife of, 255, 256
Pastoral rings, 115, 116
Patcham church, Sussex, 'low side window' in, 45
Paterson, John, of Newcastle, blacksmith, 262
Patrick Brompton church, Yorkshire, 'low side window' in, 61, 66
Pattisonne, B., witness to a deed, 251
Paulinus, bishop of Northumbria, 22
Pearson's Chare, Newcastle, house in, 266

Peas-cods and flowers, a gown powdered with, 103
Peckham, archbishop, 'Constitutions' of, 56, 59, 208
Pegorre, Gile de, canon, etc., of Reims cathedral, effigy of, 102*n*, 103
Pelasgic sepulchres or 'treasuries,' 183
Pemberton, Elizabeth, 205
Pembroke hall, John Boultflower at, 273
Pen Machno, Carnarvon, *chi-rho* on gravestone of Carausius found at, 95*n*
Penance, one theory that 'low side windows' used for, 53
Penda, slew Edwin at Heathfield, 22; slew Oswald at Maserfield, 22
Penzing, near Vienna, light pillar at, 173
Percehay, Agnes, widow of Sir Walter, extract from will of, 82
Percys, badges of the, in chapel at Tynemouth, 31
Percy, Edmund de, citizen of York, extract from will of, 81
Perkins, Thomas, of Coundon, desired to be buried beside the cross in Auckland St. Andrew's churchyard, 96*n*
Perpetual lights, origin and significance of, 181 *et seq.*
Persepolis, tombs of Achaemenian kings at, 184
Persians, inhumation practised by, 184; cremation impossible with, 185
Pescod, Walter, and his wife, effigies of, at Boston, Lincolnshire, 103
Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluni, 165
Petit Andelys, chalice on brass at, 119*n*
Petrie's, Dr., description of Irish round towers, 159
Pewter chalice and paten discovered, 114; from graves, 115
Phelips, Francis, gentleman, 259
Philippe, Jean and, sons of Blanche of Castille, tombs of, 192
Philips, see Phelips
Pickering, George, of Newcastle, 264; a local poet, witness to a deed, 262 and *n*
Picts, etc., said to have been pursued by Theodosius to the Orkneys, 28
'Pictish forts,' so-called, 244
Piersebridge, Roman stones in walls of Winston church, probably from camp at, 233
Pitt-Rivers, general, death of, xi
Pittington church, 'low side windows' in, 221; bracket for lamp, 222
Pleyben, France, cemetery chapel at, 154
Poissy, tombs of sons of Blanche of Castille at, 192, 194
Poitou, many 'fanaux' in, 131
Pokerley, land in, 270
Poll Tax, 275
Posen, very rich and fine brass of bishop Andreas at, 103*n*; effigy of Uriel de Gorka at, 118*n*
Potts, James, of Byker, 266; of Pandon house, 266; John, of Shilbottle, gentleman, 263; Mary, witness to a will, 266
Pouncher [? Ponnfret] John de, witness to a deed, 249
Powell, Thomas, of Newcastle, 254
Prague, 'finest existing candelabra in church of St. Vitus at,' 86; description of, 86
Pre-conquest crosses discovered at Hartlepool, 109
Pringle, John, of Newcastle, 254
Providence, hand of, symbol of, common in France and Belgium, 99
Pruddowe, Thomas de, witness to a deed, 249
Publications, Societies exchanging, xxix
Pudding Chare, Newcastle, 262, 266, 267
Pudsey, bishop, Norton church largely recast in time of, 220
Pulpits, ancient, rarely to be met with, 55*n*; at Easby abbey, 55*n*; at Walsingham priory, 55*n*; at Lilleshall priory, 55*n*; at Beaulieu, Hants, 55*n*; at Chester abbey church, 55*n*; at Carlisle, 55*n*
Punder, Nicholas, of Newcastle, merchant, 250
Punshon, John, witness to a deed, 256
Putchman, John, priest, his gift to Our Lady's church at Wiener Neustadt, 170
Puttrich, graveyard chapel at, 171
Puys-de-Dôme, many 'fanaux' in the, 131
Pye, archdeacon, his monument formerly covered 'low side window' at Easington, 212
Pyle, Robert de, clerk, supposed memorial of in Haccomb church, Devonshire, 126

Q

Quimper, curious chapel near cathedral church of, 153
Quinéville, hollow column at, 130

R

Rabenstein, Eberard de, chalice, etc., on effigy of, 120*n*
Raglan, Monmouthshire, niched base of churchyard cross at, 144
Raine, Christopher, witness to a deed, 253; rev. James, St. Crux, church, York, 'the finest of all the York churches,' destroyed during incumbency of, 52; Robert, of Newcastle, 265

Ralph, lord Neville, the hero of Neville's Cross, 127
Ramryge, abbot of St. Alban's, chantry chapel of, 123
Ram's Island, Lough Neagh, round tower on, 157
Ratcliffe, baron of Dilston, 274
Rathmichael, Dublin, round tower at, 156
Ratisbon, 'beautiful little early Gothic light house' in, 171
Rattoo, Clare, round tower at, 156
Ravensworth, land in the fields of, 270
Rawling, Henry, 256
Raydon church, Suffolk, 'low side window' at, 44, 50*n*
Ré, isle of, in Saintonge, 'fanal' of, 136
Reay, John, of South Shields, 'raff' merchant, and Margaret, his wife, property in Grindon chare, Newcastle, conveyed to, 266; Margaret, daughter of Stephen Atkinson, 266
'Reddesdale,' Tynedale and, inhabitants of, 40
Redmarshall church, description of, 223; 'low side window' in, 50*n*, 213, 224; Norman doorway, etc., 223; Langton effigies in, 223; combined tomb and Easter sepulchre in, 224
Reede family, grave cover probably of, in Bredon church, 104
Reed, Elrington, of Troughend, Dorothy Boutflower married, 281; death of, and wife, 281; memorial stone in Elsdon church, 281
Reims, cathedral church, effigy of Gile de Pegorre, canon in, 102*n*; incised effigy of Hues Libergier in church of St. Nicaise at, 101
Relics, 'low side windows' not for the exposition of, 56
Renaut de Calletot, vases found in grave of, 194
Reynolds, rev. G. W., on Greatham. xi
Riccall church, near Selby, 'low side window' in, 222
Richard III. chief contributor to works in Barnard Castle church, 206
Richard, chaplain of Elsing, 81
Richardson, John, witness to a deed, 264; of Durham, 259; of Newcastle, gentleman, 265; Thomas, witness to a deed, 250; Robert, of Newcastle, premises of, 266
Richmond, Ralph Hutton, commissary of, 276
'Riddyngs Land,' waste land anciently called, 249
Ridell, Thomás de, extract from will of, 78
Riding Mill, 280; property of Boutflowers, 282; old house at, has arms of Errington impaling Carnaby, 282; subsequent owners of. 282
Ridley, Martha, 277; Nicholas, 277
Ringstead cathedral church, effigies of king Eric Menved and his queen in, 102*n*
Riom, 'fanaux' at, 132
Rivière, sir John de la, matrix of brass of, in Tormarton church, Gloucestershire, 97
Robert III., grant of, to Holyrood, 243
Roberts, John, of Newcastle, gentleman, and Jane, his wife, 258
Robinson, Robert, of Riding Mill, memorial stone of, 282
Robson, Edward, married Margery Ellinor, 261; Henry, sold messuage in Hyndeley to George Boutflower, 273; John, 'boocher,' 251; of Newcastle, 250; William, of Newcastle, 262; weaver, 260
Rochechouart, Foucard de, canon of Limoges, 152
Rochechouart, cemetery chapel of Beaumossau at, 152
Rochelle Foot, 275
Rochester cathedral church, crozier and chalice discovered in grave of bishop Walter de Merton in, 115
Rock, Dr., originated term 'leper windows,' 50
Roddam, Robert, witness to a deed, 254
Roen-en-Forez, France, 'fanal' at, 132
Rogers, John, of Newcastle, 256; William, master in Chancery, 257
Rogerson, Richard, jun., witness to a deed, 263
Romans, regulations of, concerning treatment of dead bodies, 187; methods of disposing of, 185; visited tombs of their relatives and offered gifts, etc., 189
Roman emperors, deification of, 189
Roman fort at Bumbeshti, inscription from, 268
Roman stones in walls of Escomb, Lanchester, and Winston churches, 233
Roman Wall, countries near to, named Gual, 239; views of, exhibited by Mr. J. P. Gibson, xi; excavations on line of, xi
Romsey abbey church, Hants., chalice and paten of pewter discovered at, 114; crucifix built into wall of, 142
Roscrea, Tipperary, round tower at, 156
Rotherham, Mr. Thomas, master of free school at Hexham, 279
Rouen, incised effigy of Agnes de Saint Amant at, 101; and elsewhere, wax crosses on coffins, 114

Round towers, Irish, 154 *et seq.*
Rowell, Mary, wife of — Boutflower, 283; William, witness to a deed, 265; of Newcastle, merchant, 264
Rudby church, Thomas Lyndley of Scutterskelf to be buried in choir of, 80
Rumney, Robert, of Warden, gentleman, 263
'Rundcapellen,' the German, 168
Runic inscriptions in Denmark, 243
Rupert, bishop, of Paderborn, effigy of, 118*n*
Rupez, Thiebauz, incised effigy of, at S. Memmie, near Chalons-sur-Marne, 101
Russell, Peter, of Newcastle, cooper, 277
Rutherford, Esther, of Newcastle, spinster, 263; of Long Benton, 263; [Rotherforth,] George, of Gateshead, gentleman, 266
Rymer, Edward, witness to a deed, 255
Ryton church, 232; 'carried out at a single effort,' 225; 'low side window,' 225

S

Sadler, John, of Newcastle, 259
Sagas, Icelandic, 243
St. Acca, opening of grave of, in Hexham priory church, 110
St. Albans, Tynemouth monastery subject to, 23; given to, by Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, 25; 'by far the finest ecclesiastical brass in England' in, 103; chantry chapels in, 123; vault beneath tomb of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester in, 107; leper hospital of St. Julian at, 53; cross enclosing effigy in St. Michael's church at, 98; 'ankresses' in, 124; St. Stephen's church, low side window in, 53; St. Peter's church, 'ankresses' in, 124
Saint Amant, Agnes de, incised effigy of, at Rouen, 101
St. Andrew's churchyard, Newcastle, premises purchased for enlargement of, 260
St. Aubin-sur-mer, vase found in grave at, 194
St. Bavon's church, Ghent, candelabra at, 126
St. Brecan's in the Isle of Arran, early cross discovered at, 109
St. Brigitta, effigies of parents of, 102*n*
St. Calais, bishop William of, expelled seculars from Durham, 220
St. Canice, Kilkenny, round tower of, 156
Saint Chapelle at Paris, 55
St. Christopher, gigantic figure of, on brass in Wike church, near Winchester, 105
St. Columba patron of Desertoghill church, county Londonderry, 240*n*
St. Colombanus, Irish monastery of, at Luxeuil, 164
St. Croix, near Arles, graveyard chapel at, 168
St. Cuthbert, contents of coffin of, 109; shrine of, at Durham, king Cnut's barefoot pilgrimage to, 230
St. David's cathedral church, chalices, etc., discovered in graves in, 115
St. Denis abbey church, Paris, effigies of kings and queens of France in, 127
St. Geneviève de Paris, sepultures at, 194
St. Georges de Ciron, France, 'fanal' of, 133
St. Gousseau, France, 'fanal' of, 136
St. Gregory, scene on brass in Macclesfield church known as mass of, 105
St. Helen, 108
St. Hilaire de Poitiers, ancient 'fanaux' in cemetery of, 131
St. Iák, Hungary, chapel near Benedictine abbey church of, 169; 'Rundcapellen' at, 179
St. John's chapel in Weardale rebuilt, 200
St. Kevin's kitchen, Glendalough, 155
St. Leonard's hospital, near North Shields, 41; medieval grave cover and stone effigies found at, 42
St. Margaret, 108
St. Martin de Louviers, leaden cross discovered in churchyard of, 113
St. Memmie, near Chalons-sur-Marne, incised effigy of Thiebauz Rupez at, 101
St. Othmar, translation of body of, 117
Sts. Peter and Paul, representation of, on brass, 103*n*
St. Pierre d'Oleron, 'fanal' at, 134
St. Piat, incised slab at Seclin commemorating, 99
Sancto Quinctino, John de, extracts from will of, 83; his wife Lora, 84*n*; brasses of, in Brandesburton church, 84*n*
St. Radegunde, chantry chapel of, in Exeter cathedral church, 126
St. Thomas's chapel on Bridge, Newcastle, chaplain of Mary chantry in, 249; tenement belonging to, 249; chaplain of St. Ann's chantry, 249
St. Weonards, Herefordshire, niched base of churchyard cross at, 144
Salford Priors, Warwickshire, 'low side window' at, 43, 147

Salisbury cathedral church, consecration crosses on walls of, 69; chantry chapels in, 121; tombs of bishop Bridport, 100; and of bishop Wyvill in, 118*n*
Sanctus bell-cots in county Durham, 54*n*
Sanctus bell theory of 'low side window' impossible in case of Barnard Castle church, 207
Sanderson, Francis, of Newcastle, iron merchant, 264; Thomas, of Newcastle, merchant, 266; William, of Healey, 275
Sandgate, Newcastle, premises in, 266
Sandhill, Newcastle, property on, 264
Sardis, early tumuli at, 183
Sarremezan, Comminges, cemetery chapel at, 151
'Sarum Use,' the, prohibited lepers from appearing in public, 51*n*
Saturday, 'the day the Lord's body lay in the tomb' candles lighted, 131*n*
Saumur, 'fanal' in town of, 134
Savoy, Agnes of, vases found in grave of, 195
Saxons, settlements of, on east coast of Scotland, 238; established on Tweed and Firth of Forth, 240
Saxon, see pre-Conquest
'Saxony,' part of Scotland once called, 240
Scales, Walter, witness to a deed, 249
Scaling ladder, crest of Greys, 255
Scandinavia, name Oggel once common in, 243
Scarbrough, earl of, property in Newcastle leased from the, 264
Schomberg, bishop, effigy of, at Naumburg representing a 'cadaver,' 119*n*
Schwaz, near Innsbrück, pretty little pillar in churchyard at, 171
Schwerin, brasses of bishops Ludolph and Henry de, at, 102*n*; and of Godfrey and Frederic de, at, 102*n*, 118*n*
Scotland, settlements of Saxons on east coast of, 238; part of, once called Saxony, 240
Scott, Jonathan, of Newcastle, gentleman, 266; Sir Walter, James Ellis, a local poet, a correspondent of, 262*n*
Scrivan, William, witness to a deed, 249
Scythian tombs, 182
Seaham church, 'low side window' in, 207, 219, 222, 226
Seamer, Yorkshire, John Boutflower, vicar of, 269
Seclin, near Lille, 'Hand of Providence' on grave slab at, 99
Seculars expelled from Durham by bishop William of St. Calais, 220
Sedgefield, John Daudre to be buried in cemetery of, 78; church, chancel of, plastered over so that evidence of 'low side window' destroyed, 200
Seez, little cross supporting column in old cemetery of, 131
Seffrid, bishop of Chichester, discovery of supposed coffin of, 111
Selby, Agnes de, extract from will of, 82
Sellyf, duke of Cornwall, inscription supposed to commemorate, 95*n*
Serken, bishop Burchard de, the most magnificent brass of, at Lübeck, 102*n*
Seven Churches, King's county, round towers at, 156; Wicklow, round tower at, 156
Shadforth, Anthony, late of Tunstall, county Durham, gentleman, 252; George, 252; Henry, witness to a deed, 251; James, 253; John, 252; Mary, 252; Thomas, of Eppleton, county Durham, esq., 252
Shafto, James, 253; of Newcastle, merchant, 252; Jane, widow, 253; of Newcastle, 254; sale of heirlooms, etc., 253; Robert, senr., and Jane, his wife, 252; Robert, junr., of Benwell, and Mary, his wife, 252, 253
Shakespeare's house at Stratford, oak lintel in which was cross, from, 69*n*
Sherburn hospital, chapel of, destroyed by fire, 200
Shield, Hugh, solicitor's clerk, witness to a deed, 264
Shields, North, note of town of, 38; consecration of Christ church at, in 1668, 41; St. Leonard's hospital, near, 41; grave cover, etc., from, 42
Shields, South, a smoke jack from, presented to Society, xvii; Oswin is said to have been born at, 23; St. Hild's church, modern, 200
Shotley church, 281; Blanchland abbey endowed with appropriation of, 271
Sicyonians, burial among the, 185
Siford, the priest, coffin of, discovered at Lincoln. 108
Silver chalices and patens discovered in graves, etc., 113 *et seq.*
Sion, the Brigittine house of, 62, 63
Simpson, John, alderman of Newcastle, 267
Skepper, Christopher, of Durham, 259
Skirlaw's Rolls, 271
Slane, burning of round tower at, first notice of, 159; 'cloictheach' of, burnt by Danes, 162; Caoinechair, reader of, 162
'Smoke jack' presented to Society, xvii

Smoult, Thomas, of Newcastle, watchmaker, 263
Societies exchanging publications, xxix
Sockburn church in ruins, 200; Robert Conyers to be buried in the church of All Saints at, 80
Somerton, Oxfordshire, 'low side window' at, 44
Soul, the, represented on brasses, 102*n*, 103*n*
South Burlingham, chalice and wafer on brass of William Curtes at, 119*n*
Southwell minster, chalice on grave cover at, 120*n*
Spencer, Sir Edward de, chantry of, in Tewkesbury abbey church, 122
Spence, John, of Newcastle, maltman, 256
Spicer lane, Newcastle, house in, 254
Spight, Alexander, 267
Spoor, 'Parcivall,' of Newcastle, 250
Spartans, burial among the, 185
Sproatley, Yorkshire, chalice, etc., on grave cover at, 120*n*
Sprotburgh church, Isabella, wife of Sir William de Emelay, to be buried in the chapel of St. Thomas the martyr in, 82
Stag, a trotting, on a seal, 249
Stafford, effigy of bishop, at Exeter, 118*n*
Staindrop church, Nevill chantry in, 227, 232; 'low side window,' in unusual position, 59, 207, 227; effigy of Euphemia de Clavering in Neville chantry in, 127
Stainton-le-Street, chalice forming part of cross shaft on grave cover at, 120*n* (see also Great Stainton)
Stanhope church, description of, 229; 'low side window,' 229
Stapledon, bishop, tomb of, in Exeter cathedral church, 104
Stephenson, George, of Newcastle, yeoman, 261; witness to a deed, 261
Stevenson, Alexander S., death of, x; Anthony, of Newcastle, and his wife, 264
Stewart, baron Oghiltree, 244
Still, George, of Newcastle, merchant, 250
Stockden, Anne, of Newcastle, widow, 266
Stocksfield, prior, etc., of Hexham, held homage of William de Normanvil for, 271
Stoka, Thomas, 'skynner,' 251
Stoke Charity church, Hampshire, brass of Thomas Hampton and wife in, 104
Stone church, Kent, effigy of John Lumbarde in, 98
Stonewell, John, prior of Tynemouth, attempt to kill, 38
Stote, Sir Richard, of Jesmond, knight and serjeant-at-law, 264
Stowe, Simon de Barton, archdeacon of, 115
Stralsund, fine brass of proconsul Albert Hövener at, 103*n*
Stranraer, *chi-rho* on stone at, 96
Stratford, oak lintel at Shakespeare's house at, 96*n*
Strathorne, John count de, 82
Styford, Blanchland abbey endowed with appropriation of, 271
Sugar, dean of Wells, chantry chapel of, 122
Surtees, Edward, of Hedleywoodside, 273; Robert, of Milkwellburn, married Catherine Bartram, 283; his nephew Robert purchased Apperley estate, 283
Surrey, John count de, 82
Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, silver gilt chalice discovered in tomb of, 115
Sutton-on-Derwent, master John de Wodehous, formerly rector, to be buried in churchyard of, 81
Swan, James, of Newcastle, 262
Sweden, a family named Ogill, hereditary judges in, 242
Swillington, Robert de Swillington desired to be buried in chapel of Blessed Mary at, 83
Swillington, Robert de, extract from will of, 83
Swinbourne, Henry, witness to a deed, 255; [Swynborne,] William, of Newcastle, gentleman, 250
Swinfield, bishop of Hereford, chalice and paten found in grave of, 116; traces of wine in chalice, 116
Sword factory at Blackhall mill, 283
Swords, Dublin, round tower at, 156
Symoens, Willem, chalice on effigy of, at Ghent, 119*n*

T

Tanfield church, Yorkshire, wrought iron herse over tomb of Marmions in, 125
Tantalais, earliest tumuli at, 183
Taplow, Bucks., brass cross enclosing figure in St. Nicholas's church at, 98
Tarquinii, the necropolis of the, 184
Tate, George, witness to a deed, 264
Taylor, Hugh, death of, xi; Mary, witness to a deed, 252
Teasdale, Mr. Christopher, 278
Terling, Charles Boutflower, vicar of, 286
Teutonic races, cremation universal practice of all, 190

Tewkesbury abbey church, chantry chapel in, 122
Thargelia, the sacrifice of the, 188
Theodoricus, bishop, effigy of, at Naumburg, 118*n*
Theodosius, in time of younger, burning of dead died out, 185
Thirkilde, Christopher, sen., of Estthorpe, county York, armiger, 249; Johanna, his wife, 249; Elianore, his wife, 249; Christopher, his son, 249 (see also Threlkilde)
Thomlinson, Robert, D.D., rector of Whickham, 267
Thompson, Elianor, of South Shields, witness to a will, 266; John, of South Shields, witness to a will, 266
Thoresby, archbishop, built presbytery, etc., of York minster, 83*n*
Thorn, brass of Johan von Zoest and his wife at, 103*n*
Thornton, Roger, of Witton-upon-the-Water, 250
Thorparch, parish church of, 85
Threlkilde, Christopher, jun., 249 (see also Thirkilde)
Tighadoe, Kildare, round tower at, 156
Timahoe, Queen's county, round tower at, 156
Tizacke, John, witness to a deed, 261 (see also Tyzack)
Todd, John, of Newcastle, hairdresser, 263
'Todtenleuchten,' 160; the German, 167 *et seq.*; finest of all at Klosterneuberg, 171
Tomgrancy, earliest record of erection of round tower, 159
Tormarton, Gloucestershire, matrix of brass of founder in, 97
Tory island, round tower on, 157
Tostig, earl of Northumberland, rebuilt Tynemouth monastery, 24
Towers, Irish round, 154 *et seq.*
Treasurer's report, xiii; balance sheet, xiv
Trewren, Thomas, ejected minister of Ovingham, 275; bequest to Mrs. Elizabeth Ogle, 275
Trimdon church, starting point of king Cnut's barefooted pilgrimage to Durham, 230; 'low side window' in same date as wall in which it is, 204; of Transitional date, 231
Trinity, representation of the, 102 and *n*, 104; picture of the, in canopy of the Black Prince's tomb at Canterbury, 104
Troy, tumuli on plain of, 183
Troyes, burial of the comte de Champagne at, 194; chalice and pastoral ring discovered in grave of bishop Hervée, 116
Trullo, council of, 117
Trumble, otherwise Turnbull, Katherine, widow, 262; Thomas, of Newcastle, yeoman, 262 (see also Turnbull)
Tulip, William, of Newcastle, ropemaker, 262
Tumuli in Asia Minor, 183
Tunstall, sir Brian, death of, at Flodden, 40
Tunstede, Hugh de, rector of Catton, extract from will of, 81
Turlough, Mayo, round tower at, 156
Turnbull, Robert, witness to a deed, 249; William, of Newcastle, 250 (see also Trumble)
Turpin, Martin, scrivener and notary public, 251
Tuscania, the tombs at, 184
Tweed, Saxons established on, 240
Tydeman, bishop John, effigy of, at Lübeck, 119*n*
Tynedale and Reddesdale, inhabitants of, 40
Tynemouth, men of, took flight at Flodden field, 40
Tynemouth, abbot de la Mare, prior of, and abbot of St. Albans, 103; Oswin's body brought to, 23; Herebald, abbot, 23; subject to Jarrow, 23, 24; then to Durham, and afterwards to St. Albans, 23; destroyed by Danes, 23; massacre of nuns of Hartlepool at, 23; monastery rebuilt, by Tostig, 24; dispute between St. Albans and Durham concerning, 25; granted to St. Alban's, 25; excavations at, 25; Malcolm Canmore and his son Edward buried at, 26; contributions of tenants on visits of abbot of St. Alban's, 27; arrest of prior, 27; the architecture of the church, 27; 'the new chapel' at, 29; chapel founded by Percys at, 31; arms of Vescy, Percy, etc., 31; badges of Percy, etc., at, 31; figure of virgin over door, 31; used as store, 32; given back to parish in 1850, 32; Robert Blakeney, last prior, 34; prior retired to Benwell, 34; prior of, entertained kings in their journeys, 36; Edward I. at priory, 37; prior obtained licence to hold fair but afterwards revoked, 37; prior and mayor of Newcastle at feud, 37; offerings by kings at shrine of St. Oswin, 37; Douglas, said to have been prisoner at, 37; plundered by Scots, 37; duke of Gloucester, at, 37; encroachments by prior, 38; attempt to kill prior, 38; vicars of parish of Tynemouth to be appointed by prior and convent of, 41; priory to the dissolution of 1539, 22; first Christian church, 22; stone church built, 22; plans of the priory, 42

Tynemouth castle, fortified by Robert de Mowbray, 36; besieged and taken, 36; Mowbray taken prisoner to Durham, 36
Tyzack, Zachary, of Howden Pans, broad glass maker, 261

U

Udolph, duke of Frisia. 239
Uffington church, Berkshire, three-light 'low side window' in, 45, 179; sanctus bell cot and 'low side window' in, 59
Uggla, the name, 246
Ulgel, Humphrey, witness to a grant, 246
Unthank, the residence of Christopher Hunter, 281
Upper Coquetdale, a pair of wool carders from, xvii
Upper Deanbridge, Newcastle, a house in, 262
Upsala, effigies of Berger Petersen Brahe and his wife at, 102*n*

V

Valence, bishop Ethelmar de, demi-effigy of, at Winchester, 119*n*
Vallancey, general, his theory as to Irish round towers, 158
Varney, William, of Newcastle, 264
Vases found in graves, 193, *et seq.*
Vasy, Mrs. Jane af Ovingham, married John Boutflower, 279; death of, 279; [Vazey]. John, 277; of Gateshead and Wolsingham, 278; Margaret, 277; William, son of, 278
Ventilation, 'low side windows' not for, 55
Vercia, France, 'fanal' at hamlet of, 134
Verden, brass of bishop Ysowilpe at, 118*n*
Vescy, arms of, in chapel at Tynemouth, 31
'Vetta f[ilius] Victi,' name on Catstane, 238
Victoria, death of queen, ix
Vienna, perpetual light on south side of cathedral church of St. Stephen at, 172; ten 'Todtenleuchten' in, 173; little quadrangular stone lanterns built into wall, 173; 'low side windows' in, 180; most ornate 'Todtenleuchten' in chapel of St. Eligius at, 174
Vignemont in Touraine, cemetery chapel at, 152
Villeneuve, near Nantes, magnificent hearse in, 128
Villiers, 'low side window' in St. Peter's church at, 146
Viollet le Duc on 'fanaux,' 137
Viventius, name of, on stone at Stanraer, 96*n*
Vortigern, king of Britain, 239
Vulci, the tombs at, 184
Vulkan Pass, Roman inscription from fort at Bumbeshti, near the, 268
'Vulne windows,' 48

W

Wafer, priest's, on brass, 119*n*
Wake, Barbara, witness to a deed, 252; Richard of Newcastle, gentleman, 212; Thomas, witness to a deed, 253
Walker, Richard, 252; Robert, witness to a deed, 265
Walkington, master Thomas de, rector of Houghton-le-Spring, etc., will of, 76, 79
Wallingford, abbot of St. Albans, chantry chapel of, 123
Walsingham priory, ancient pulpit at, 55*n*
Walter fitz William, baron of Whalton, grant of, 246
Warangeville, near Nancy, 'low side window' in church of, 147
Warden: vicars of: John Boutflower, 273; Ralph Carr, 274; chalice at, bearing name of John Bowltflower, churchwarden, 274
Warenne, John count de, 82
Warka, almost entirely covered with human remains, 182
Warwick, Isabel countess of, chantry chapel of, in Tewkesbury abbey church, 122
Warwick, brass herse over tomb in Beauchamp chapel at, 125
Watch towers, Irish round towers used as, 162
Watson, Margaret, of Newcastle, 267; Thomas, witness to a deed, 264
Watt, John, of Newcastle, 264
Wawn, John, of Byker buildings, gentleman, 263
Waynflete, bishop, chantry chapel of, 121
Wax crosses in coffins, 114
Wearmouth, William de Neuport, rector of, desired to be buried in choir of church of, 83
Weekly church, Northants, 'low side window' in, 44, 57
Weldon, Mrs., sister of colonel George Fenwick of Brinkburn, 274
Welldon, Mr. John Davis, ejected from Bywell, retired to, 275
Well, chalice forming part of cross shaft on grave cover at, 120*n*
Wells cathedral church, incised effigy of bishop William de Bitton in, 101; chantry chapels in, 122

Wensley church, Yorkshire, 'low side window' in, 44; pre-Conquest cross discovered at, 109; chalice represented on fine Flemish brass at, 119*n*
West, bishop of Ely, chantry chapel of, 121
Westgate street, Newcastle, premises in, 266
Westminster, chantry chapel erected by king Henry VII. at, 120; effigies of him and his queen in, 120; bowls for tapers in, 126
Westmorland, land formerly belonging to Charles, earl of, 273
Welford, Richard, on local muniments, 247
Westgate, the, Newcastle, 250
Whaley, Francis, M.D. of York, Mary Ann Boutflower, wife of, 285
Whalton church, dom. Robert Ogill to be buried in Mary porch in, 79; Walter fitz William, baron of, grant of, 246; the rev. Thomas Bates, rector of, 267
Wheathamstead, abbot John de, of St. Albans, constructed chantry chapel of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, 123
Whickham, Boutflowers at, 269; rev. Robert Thomlinson, D.D., rector of, 267; church, unusual position of 'low side window,' now destroyed, in, 207; all traces of a 'low side window' gone, 200
Wheelbirks, 275
Whitburn church, 'well-nigh restored to death,' 231; noteworthy from having arcades of five bays both alike, 232; tomb of Michael Mathew in, 252*n*
Whitchurch, Herefordshire, niched base of churchyard cross at, 145
White, Martin, witness to a deed, 251; Matthew, of Newcastle, merchant adventurer and alderman, 264; of Blagdon, 264
'White's lofts,' warehouses in Grindon Chare, Newcastle, known as, 265
Whitford and Little removed from their office of confessors, 65
Whittingham, shepherd's staff from vale of, xvii
Whittonstall, monumental stone of George Boutfloure at, 273, 286; arms of, 273; chapelry at, collection of poll tax in, 275
Whorlton, the ancient chapel of, pulled down, 201
Wiener Neustadt, graveyard chapel at, 169
Widdrington, see Woodrington
Wiggington church, Oxfordshire, 'low side window,' with seat, in, 65, 66
Wighton church, Norfolk, five 'low side windows' at east end of chancel, 53*n*
Wike church, Winchester, gigantic figure of St. Christopher on brass in, 105
Wilkinson, William, of Newcastle, smith and farrier, 263
William the Engineer built Galilee at Durham, 231
William, son of Boso, 271
Williamson, Robert Hopper, 265; William, 255
Willis, Joseph, of Newcastle, gentleman, 265
Wills, medieval, 75
Wilson, Benjamin, of St. Nicholas, Jane Boutflower betrothed to, 278; Peter, of Newcastle, notary public, 261; William, spiritual chancellor of Durham, 277; married Mary Hutton, 277
Wimbish church, Essex, cross enclosing effigy in, 98
Winchester cathedral church, chantry chapels in, 121; Wolstan's description of new tower of, 163, effigy of William of Wykeham at, 118*n*; demi-effigy of bishop Ethelmar de Valence at, 119*n*
Windsor, copper candelabra belonging to Wolsey's tomb at, 127
Wine, traces of, in chalice discovered in Hereford cathedral church, 126
Winston church, county Durham, 'low side window' in, 45, 50*n*; position of, 225; no church in county can compare with beauty of its position, 232; stones of Roman breaching to be found in its walls, 233; two 'low side windows' in, of same date as walls, 204, 234; elaborate thirteenth century gravestone in, 233
Witton Gilbert church, 230; registers, record of marriage of George Boutflower, of Bywell St. Peter, 274
Witton-le-Wear: church, 230; churchyard cross, 140; only existing remains of a, in county, 96*n*; school, Dr. Embleton educated at, 1
Witton-upon-the-Water, Thorntons of, 250 and *n*
Wodehous, master John de, formerly rector of Sutton-on-Derwent, extract from will of, 81
Wolf, William Boutflower, commander of H.M.S., 280
Wolsenburgh, on brass of bishop Otto of Brunswick represented carrying model of castle of, 118*n*
Wolsey's tomb begun at Windsor, copper candelabra belonging to, 127
Wolsingham church almost entirely rebuilt, 201

Wonastow, Monmouthshire, niched base of churchyard cross at, 144
Woodchurch church, Kent, effigy of Nichol de Gore in, 98
Wooderingtons of Kirkheaton, 272
Woodruffe, Richard, of Newcastle, tobacconist, 267
Woodstock, Thomas, duke of Gloucester, at Tynemouth, 37
Wool-carders, a pair of, presented to Society, xvii
Worcester cathedral church, effigy of king John in, 100; silver paten found in grave of bishop Walter de Cantelupe in, 115
Wouldhave, John, witness to a deed, 254
Wright, William, witness to a will, 259
Wulfstan, representation of St., 100
Wycliffe church, elaborate medieval grave cover at, 233
Wykeham, bishop William of, effigy of, at Winchester, 118*n*; chantry chapel of, 121
Wyvill, bishop, effigy of, at Salisbury, 118*n*

Y

Yal, John lord of, 82
York, archbishops of, 118*n*; Roger de Moreton, citizen and mercer of, 83; Edmund de Percy, citizen of 81; Oglestrop, a freeman of, 245
York, Merchants' Hall chapel at, 52*n*
York city, there were four leper hospitals in, 52; formerly forty-one parish churches in, 52*n*
York, Friars' Preachers at, Agnes, wife of Sir Robert de Burton, to be buried in church of, 81
York minster, bequest of William de Neuport towards building presbytery of, 83 and *n*; tomb of archbishop Grey in, 101; John Bultflow, a mason employed at, 269; chalices and patens discovered in graves of archbishops in, 110
York churches: All Saints, chalice on grave cover at, 120*n*; All Saints Pavement, chancel destroyed in 1782, 52*n*; lantern tower of, 104; Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, almost abandoned, 52*n*;
York churches—*continued.*
Holy Trinity, King's court, partly destroyed in 1830 to widen street, 52*n*: fine priory church of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, destruction of choir, etc. of, 52*n*; Trinity chapel, Bederne, 'a singularly interesting fourteenth century building,' 52*n*; St. Clement's, Edmund de Percy to be buried in, 81; St. Crux wantonly destroyed under pressure of archbishop Thomson, 52*n*; St. Cuthbert's, 'low side window' in, 50*n*, 60; those at Vienna like, 174; St. Deny's, Walmgate, part only left, 52*n*; St. Helen's, Stonegate, partly destroyed, 52*n*; St. Lawrence's, 'now a mere fragment,' 52*n*; St. Margaret's, Walmgate, 'low side window' in, 53*n*; window in, 207, 226; St. Martin's, Coney street, Roger de Moreton desired to be buried in, 83; St. Martin's, Micklegate, 'low side window' in, 50*n*, 53*n*, 60; St. Mary's Bishophill senior, church almost abandoned, 52*n*; St. Mary's, Castlegate, 'low side window' at, those at Vienna like, 74; 'low side window' in, 53*n*, 59*n*; unusual position of 'low side window,' 207; curious 'low end' window below west window, 222; St. Michael's, chalice and wafer on brass of William Langton, rector of 119*n*; St. Michael's, Spurriergate, partly destroyed to widen street, 52*n*; St. Michael's le Belfry, Agnes de Selby to be buried in, 82; St. Olave's, Marygate, rebuilt in 1722, 52*n*; St. Saviour's, 'low side window' in, 53*n*
Young, bishop, effigy of, at Oxford, with crozier, 118*n*
Younge, Joseph, witness to a deed, 253
Ysowilpe, brass of bishop, at Verden, represents him carrying church, 118*n*

Z

Ziegler, Eobanus, chalice on effigy of, at Erfurt, 120*n*
Zoest, Johan von, and his wife, brass of, at Thorn, 103*n*
Zoroastrian religion, the, 184

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